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## ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1909.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved; and the usual monthly reports were submitted by the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper.

The PRESIDENT submitted for the Council the following vote, which was adopted:

Resolved that the Massachusetts Historical Society respectfully requests the Boston School Committee not to sever the link which connects the name of John Winthrop with the Schools of Boston, by giving another name to the new building which is to be erected for the use of the Winthrop School.

The PRESIDENT then read a letter from our associate Mr. Howe, stating that

Professor Wilder D. Bancroft of Cornell University agreed yesterday to an arrangement by which the papers of his grandfather used in the preparation of the "Life and Letters of George Bancroft," published just a year ago, shall be deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society. Some private and family papers are first to be removed from the collection, and for a certain period Professor Bancroft retains a right to recall the deposit.

The collection is very extensive, and contains letters on political and historical matters from many of the most prominent persons in the nineteenth century. It is especially rich in letters of the two periods through which Mr. Bancroft held public office: from 1841 to 1849, when he was Collector of the Port of Boston, Secretary of the Navy, and Minister to England; and from 1867 to 1874, when he was Minister to Germany. There is also much that is valuable and important in the years before, between, and after these periods.

The Society voted to accept the deposit of these papers on the conditions stated by Professor Bancroft.

Dr. Green, for Mr. DEXTER, who was absent, presented a memoir of John Elliot Sanford; and Mr. MERRIMAN one of Charles Henry Dalton.

The PRESIDENT reported the receipt of an invitation to attend and participate in the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Calvin, to be held at Geneva, Switzerland, in July next; and announced a vote of the Council that some member be accredited as the representative of the Society on that occasion.

Mr. PAINE, Senior Member-at-Large of the Council, presented their report, as follows:

#### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

This report covers the period from April 1, 1908, up to and including the March meeting of 1909. Among the matters acted upon by the Council the past year, the most important was the election, in November, of Worthington C. Ford to the office of Editor of our publications to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Charles C. Smith, who had so acceptably held the office of Editor since November, 1889. Mr. Rhodes, in his report of the Council in 1903, spoke of the loss sustained by the Society in the termination of Mr. Ford's membership by reason of his removal from the State. I am pleased to report that Mr. Ford has again become a Resident Member and has assumed the duties of Editor of our publications, to which position he was elected in November, 1908, and it may be said his election marks the beginning of a new era in the history of our Society.

Mr. Ford entered upon the duties of his position on January 4, 1909, and took up at once the work of preparing editions of Winthrop's History of New England, and Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, which will be his immediate charge. In the interim between the resignation of Mr. Smith and the election of Mr. Ford, one volume of the Proceedings was published under the direction of the Committee of Publication.

Much needed improvement has been made in the basement of the Society's building to restore that part of the original plan of construction, and a new steel stack has been installed in one of the rooms for the unbound publications of the Society and duplicate material of sufficient value to be saved. At the October meeting the President reported at length about the changes, and suggested the importance of getting rid of accumulated printed material for which there is neither room

nor appreciable use and which is likely to be a constantly increasing mass of inflammable matter.

Mr. Shaw, in the Council report of last year, said that the "most obvious need of the Society at the present time is an enlargement of the space devoted to the Cabinet," and suggested the erection of a two-story addition to the building for the purpose on vacant land in the yard. The need for such a change still exists.

The Society's observance of the Tercentenary of the birth of John Milton was an important event in its annals, and was a part of the great commemoration both in England and America. The members of the Society and the audience which filled the First Church edifice on that occasion listened with profound attention to the address delivered by our associate Dr. Everett, and to the introductory remarks by our President.

Important action was taken by the Society in regard to the change of names of streets and squares, by a formal remonstrance to the Mayor and City Council against the proposed change of name of Maverick Square, East Boston, and by the efforts of a committee of the Society, appointed for the purpose, to secure the passage of an Act of the General Court to prevent in the future such changes of names within a reasonable length of time. This Act was passed and signed by Governor Draper on March 2, 1909.

The work on the General Index of the second series of the Proceedings is progressing, and it is expected that the final publication will soon be made. Another important undertaking by the Society will be the publication of the diaries of Cotton and Increase Mather, and Mather papers proposed to be issued in co-operation with the American Antiquarian Society, and a committee of three was appointed by this Society for that purpose. The Antiquarian Society has also appointed a committee of three to confer with the committee of this Society as to the best plan to be pursued in publishing these diaries in the possession of the two Societies.

The monthly meetings of the Society have, on the whole, been well attended, and members have availed themselves of the privilege of hearing the valuable and interesting papers that have been presented. At the April meeting of last year Dr. DeNormandie presented a timely paper entitled "Modernism," which was followed by his papers on the same subject

at the May and June meetings. F. B. Sanborn read a valuable paper on "The Early History of Kansas, 1851 to 1861." At the June meeting President Adams gave an interesting talk on Thompson's Island and Squantum.

During the fall and winter months papers have been presented as follows: in November, on the Discovery of the Weare Papers, by Mr. Sanborn, and "Memoir of Abbott Lawrence," by Dr. Green; in December, Introduction by President Adams at the Milton Tercentenary, and "Milton the Puritan," address by Dr. Everett at the same celebration; in January, "Abraham Lincoln at Tremont Temple in 1848," by Mr. Schouler, a Corresponding Member, and "Old Mile-stones leading from Boston," by Dr. Green; in February, "Civil War Pensions," by Rev. E. H. Hall, "Diary at the Siege of Louisburg," March 11 to August 2, 1745, communicated by Dr. Green, Lincoln's first Inauguration, by President Adams, "Milton's Impress on the Provincial Literature of New England," by President Adams; in March, "A Forgotten Incident of the State Rights Controversy," by Mr. Stanwood, First Battle of Bull Run, by Mr. Clement, two remarkable cases of trustworthy traditions, by Mr. Matthews, "Slavery at Groton in Provincial Times," by Dr. Green, and Letters relating to the English Church in Holland, and others written by men who later came to New England, communicated by Mr. Ford.

Since the last meeting the following changes have taken place in the membership of the Society:

Deaths:

*Resident Members.*

Alexander Viets Griswold Allen . . . . .	July 1, 1908.
Charles Eliot Norton . . . . .	Oct. 21, 1908.

*Corresponding Members.*

Daniel Coit Gilman . . . . .	Oct. 13, 1908.
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Termination, by election to Resident Membership:

Worthington Chauncey Ford . . . . .	Feb. 11, 1909.
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Elections:

*Resident Members.*

Charles Pelham Greenough . . . . .	April 9, 1908.
Henry Ernest Woods . . . . .	Oct. 8, 1908.
Worthington Chauncey Ford . . . . .	Feb. 11, 1909.

*Corresponding Members.*

Henry Morse Stephens . . . . .	April 9, 1908.
Charles Borgeaud . . . . .	Oct. 8, 1908.
Lyon Gardiner Tyler . . . . .	Feb. 11, 1909.

The following publications have been issued by the Society during the year :

A short account of the Massachusetts Historical Society by Charles C. Smith, together with the Act of Incorporation, additional Acts and By-Laws and a list of Officers and Members, January, 1791-April, 1908.

A Documentary History of Chelsea, including the Boston Precincts of Winnisimmet, Rumney Marsh, and Pullen Point, 1624-1824. Collected and arranged with notes by Mellen Chamberlain. In two volumes.

Serial numbers of Proceedings, third series, Volume I., April to June, 1908.

Serial numbers of Proceedings, third series, Volume II., October, 1908, to March, 1909.

Proceedings, third series, Volume I. (April, 1907, to June, 1908).

The Commemoration of the Tercentenary of the Birth of John Milton, at the First Church in Boston, on December 9, 1908, at four o'clock (a special report by the Committee in charge, republished from the Proceedings, with a reprint of the programme, Boston, 1909).

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society in commemoration of the Tercentenary of the Birth of John Milton, 9 December, 1908 (a reprint from the Proceedings, Cambridge, 1909).

The following list includes historical publications by Resident Members during the past year:

ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS. "The Solid South" and the Afro-American Race Problem. Speech at the Academy of Music, Richmond, Virginia, Saturday evening, 24 October, 1908.

BIGELOW, MELVILLE M., Editor. The Acts and Resolves, public and private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Volume XV.

CHANNING, EDWARD. A History of the United States, Volume II., a Century of Colonial History, 1660-1760.

COOLIDGE, ARCHIBALD CARY. The United States as a World Power.

DAVIS, ANDREW MCFARLAND. Hints of Contemporary Life in the Writings of Thomas Shepard. Reprinted from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XII.

— John Harvard's Life in America, or social and political life in New England in 1637-1638. Reprinted from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XII.

- GREEN, SAMUEL A. Three Historical Addresses at Groton, Massachusetts. With an Appendix.
- LONG, JOHN D. Abraham Lincoln, an Address at the Centennial in Symphony Hall, Boston, February 12, 1909.
- LOWELL, A. LAWRENCE. The Government of England.
- MATTHEWS, ALBERT. The Snake Devices, 1754-1776, and the Constitutional Courant, 1765. Reprinted from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XI.
- Uncle Sam. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, new series, Volume XIX.
- Editor. Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volume X. Transactions, 1904-1906.
- PUTNAM, FREDERIC W. Forty-second Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 1907-1908.
- SHELDON, GEORGE. Fort Ancient, Ohio. Was it a fortress? Read before the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield, February 23, 1909.
- The Pathfinder at Marietta, Ohio, in 1888. Reprinted from the Massachusetts Magazine.
- STOREY, MOORFIELD. Abraham Lincoln. An address delivered at the Shawmut Congregational Church in Boston, on February 14, 1909.
- WARREN, WINSLOW. Commemorative exercises in connection with the erection of a Memorial Tablet to George Sewall Boutwell in Groton Cemetery, May 15, 1908. Poem by William Roscoe Thayer. Address by Mr. Warren.
- WENDELL, BARRETT. The Privileged Classes.

The report of the TREASURER, with the report of the Auditing Committee, was presented in print, as follows:

#### REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1909.

The special funds now held by the Treasurer are twenty-six in number. Of these special funds twenty-two were particularly numbered and described in the Treasurer's report for the year ending March 30, 1907, printed in the Proceedings (third series, I. 6-25). The remaining special funds are numbered and described as follows:

XXIII. THE WATERSTON LIBRARY FUND. Under the will of Rev. Robert C. Waterston the sum of \$10,000 was received, to be applied to the fitting up of a room or portion of a fire-proof building for the commodious and safe keeping of the Waterston Collection. A room was accordingly set apart for that purpose in the new building, and the larger part of the sum was expended in making it convenient and attractive. The balance of the legacy, now amounting to \$3,875.14, is set apart as the Waterston Library Fund, and the income will be used in accordance with the terms of his will in adding books to the collection under the direction of the Council.

XXIV. THE CHAMBERLAIN FUND. Under the will of the late Judge Mellen Chamberlain the Society received from his executors the sum of \$10,062.01 as his bequest to this Society to defray the cost of publishing his History of Chelsea. This bequest has been treated as an open account, all payments on account of the history having been charged to it and the interest credited on the unexpended balance. The balance remaining after all the bills were paid was \$971.25, and to that sum has been added the sum of \$261.08, being the amount received to date from the sale of his History of Chelsea.

In accordance with the opinion of my predecessor, as stated in his last report, this sum of \$1,232.33 has been separately funded "as a perpetual memorial of the interest which our honored associate took in the work of the Society."

XXV. THE SALISBURY FUND is a bequest to the Society of \$5,000 under the will of the late Hon. Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester, a former associate, received in 1907. The income of this fund is applicable to the general purposes of the Society.

XXVI. THE SANFORD FUND is a bequest of \$1,000 received the past year under the will of Hon. John E. Sanford, of Taunton, a former associate. The income of this fund is applicable to the general purposes of the Society.

In addition to these special funds so enumerated there are two special investments, as follows :

1. A deposit book in the Boston Five Cents Savings Bank for \$100 and interest, which now amounts to \$208.71, which is applicable to the care and preservation of the model of the



Brattle Street Church, deposited with the Society in April, 1877.

2. The second special deposit is the deposit book issued by the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston to Miss Maria Antoinette Parker, February 1, 1821. Including the gifts from our associate member Mr. Thomas Minns, as stated in my last report, the total amount of the fund so deposited is \$1,000. The interest on this fund is to be used for the purchase of books for the Library.

These two deposits now appear in the Treasurer's report as Special Investments, and the income received therefrom is not included in the consolidated income.

In addition to the gifts and bequests represented by these funds a detailed account of the numerous gifts which have been made to the Society from time to time, and expended in the purchase of real estate or in promoting the objects for which the Society was organized, was included in the Annual Report of the Treasurer dated March 31, 1887, and printed in the Proceedings (second series, III. 291-296). The Treasurer does not include the detailed statements of these gifts in his report of this year, believing that the reference to the volumes of the Proceedings in which the information respecting them is set forth in full will be sufficient for the purposes of the Society.

The stocks and bonds held by the Treasurer as investments on account of the above-mentioned funds are as follows :

\$14,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Co., due 1921 ;

\$1,000 in a five per cent bond of the Chicago and North Michigan Railroad Co., due 1931 ;

\$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Rio Grande Western Railroad Co., due 1939 ;

\$8,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Co., due 1921 ;

\$2,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Co., due 1922 ;

\$4,000 in the three and one-half per cent bonds of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Co., due 1949 ;

\$5,000 in the five per cent gold bonds of the Cincinnati, Dayton, and Iron-ton Railroad Co., due 1941 ;

\$14,500 in the four per cent mortgage bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co., due 1995 ;

\$9,000 in the adjustment four per cent bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co., due 1995;

\$3,000 in the convertible four per cent bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co., due 1955;

\$13,000 in the five per cent collateral trust bonds of the Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Co., due 1915;

\$10,000 in the five per cent bonds of the Oregon Short Line Railroad Co., due 1946;

\$30,000 in the five per cent bonds of the United Zinc and Chemical Co., due 1928, guaranteed;

\$10,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Oregon Short Line Railroad Co., due 1929;

\$12,000 in the five per cent bonds of the Lewiston-Concord Bridge Co., due 1924;

\$6,000 in the four and one-half per cent bonds of the Boston and Maine Railroad Co., due 1944;

\$10,000 in the four per cent bonds of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., due 1929;

\$50,000 in the four per cent joint bonds of the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. and the Great Northern Railroad Co., due 1921;

\$12,000 in the convertible five per cent bonds of the Kansas City Stock Yards Co., due 1913;

\$6,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Long Island Railroad Co. due 1949;

\$12,000 in the four per cent bonds of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Co., due 1934;

\$10,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Bangor and Aroostook Railroad Co., due 1951;

\$22,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Co. in Nebraska, due 1910;

\$2,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Detroit, Grand Rapids and Western Railroad Co., due 1946;

\$9,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Fitchburg Railroad Co., due 1927;

\$3,000 in the five per cent bonds of the Kansas City, Clinton and Springfield Railroad Co., due 1925;

\$2,000 in the five per cent bonds of the Lowell, Lawrence and Haverhill Street Railway Co., due 1923;

\$6,000 in the four per cent bonds of the West End Street Railway Co., due 1915;

\$16,000 in the six per cent mortgage notes of G. St. L. Abbott, Trustee;

\$3,500 in the mortgage note of A. & C. F. Ammand, guaranteed by Charles F. Adams;

\$2,000 in five per cent note of Michigan Central Railroad, due 1910;

\$3,000 in five per cent note of American Telephone and Telegraph Co., due 1910;

\$5,000 in five per cent note of Pennsylvania Railroad, due 1910;

Fifty shares in the Merchants' National Bank of Boston;

Fifty shares in the State National Bank of Boston;

Fifty shares in the National Bank of Commerce of Boston;

Fifty shares in the National Union Bank of Boston;

Fifty shares in the Second National Bank of Boston;

Twenty-five shares in the National Shawmut Bank of Boston;

Thirty-five shares in the Boston and Albany Railroad Co.;

Twenty-five shares in the Old Colony Railroad Co.;

Twenty-five shares in the preferred stock of the Fitchburg Railroad Co.;

One hundred and fifty shares in the preferred stock of the Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Co.;

One hundred and fifty shares in the preferred stock of the American Smelting and Refining Co.;

One hundred and fifty-eight shares of the preferred stock of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co.;

Three hundred and two shares in the Kansas City Stock Yards Co.;

Ten shares in the Cincinnati Gas and Electric Co., received in exchange for five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co.;

Six shares in the Boston Real Estate Trust (of the par value of \$1,000);

Five shares in the State Street Exchange; and

Three shares in the Pacific Mills (of the par value of \$1,000).

The net cost of these securities is \$439,994.10; but their market value is much higher.

#### SPECIAL INVESTMENTS.

Maria Antoinette Parker Fund of \$1,000 in the Provident Institution for Savings;

Brattle Street Church Model Fund of \$100 and interest, \$108.71, making a total of \$208.71, in the Boston Five Cents Savings Bank.

The trial balance follows, and shows the present condition of the several accounts:

#### TRIAL BALANCE.

##### DEBITS.

1909.		
March 31.	Cash . . . . .	\$18,135.00
	Investments . . . . .	439,994.10
	Real Estate . . . . .	97,990.32
	General Account . . . . .	6,036.52
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		\$562,155.94

## CREDITS.

Building Account . . . . .	\$72,990.32
Ellis House . . . . .	25,000.00
Anonymous Fund . . . . .	3,886.01
Appleton Fund . . . . .	12,203.00
Wm Amory Fund . . . . .	3,000.00
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund . . . . .	2,000.00
Robert C. Billings Fund . . . . .	10,000.00
Chamberlain Bequest . . . . .	1,232.33
Dowse Fund . . . . .	10,000.00
Ellis Fund . . . . .	31,663.66
Richard Frothingham Fund . . . . .	3,000.00
General Fund . . . . .	43,427.43
Lawrence Fund . . . . .	3,000.00
Lowell Fund . . . . .	3,000.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund . . . . .	10,000.00
Peabody Fund . . . . .	22,123.00
Charlotte A. L. Sibley Fund . . . . .	22,509.48
John L. Sibley Fund . . . . .	165,998.51
Savage Fund . . . . .	6,000.00
Salisbury Fund . . . . .	5,000.00
Sanford Fund . . . . .	1,000.00
Waterston Publishing Fund . . . . .	10,000.00
Waterston Library Fund . . . . .	3,936.69
Waterston Fund . . . . .	5,000.00
Waterston Fund No. 2 . . . . .	10,000.00
Thos. L. Winthrop Fund . . . . .	2,364.66
Robert C. Winthrop Fund . . . . .	10,000.00
William Winthrop Fund . . . . .	5,000.00
M. A. Parker Fund, Special Investment . . . . .	1,000.00
Income of Appleton Fund . . . . .	5,506.15
Income of William Amory Fund . . . . .	1,555.73
Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund . . . . .	730.33
Income of Robert C. Billings Fund . . . . .	1,836.76
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund . . . . .	2,496.56
Income of Lawrence Fund . . . . .	907.56
Income of Lowell Fund . . . . .	257.35
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund . . . . .	4,729.71
Income of Peabody Fund . . . . .	5,638.21
Income of John L. Sibley Fund . . . . .	17,396.16
Income of Savage Fund . . . . .	346.49
Income of Waterston Publishing Fund . . . . .	4,315.13
Income of Waterston Fund . . . . .	908.75
Income of Waterston Fund No. 2 . . . . .	5,107.83
Income of Robert C. Winthrop Fund . . . . .	4,815.75
Income of William Winthrop Fund . . . . .	1,025.57
Income of M. A. Parker Fund . . . . .	47.48
Income of John E. Sanford Fund . . . . .	59.30
Income of Thomas L. Winthrop Fund . . . . .	140.03

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\$562,155.94

March 31, 1909.

## GENERAL ACCOUNT.

## DEBITS.

1909.

March 31. To sundry charges and payments :

Librarian's Assistants . . . . .	\$2,940.00
Editor and Assistant . . . . .	1,335.00
Editing publications of the Society . . . . .	420.00
Engineer and Janitor . . . . .	1,020.00
Care of Building . . . . .	109 10
Treasurer's Accountant . . . . .	600 00
Printing and binding . . . . .	616.82
Stationery and postage . . . . .	313.66
Light . . . . .	74.22
Water . . . . .	73.00
Coal and wood . . . . .	528.25
Milton Tercentennial Celebration . . . . .	722 56
Heater and repairing . . . . .	77.00
Repairs on building . . . . .	3,134.95
Steel furniture . . . . .	600.00
Rent of safety vaults . . . . .	50 00
Painting . . . . .	95.00
Subscription to American bibliography . . . . .	50.00
Public Accountant . . . . .	25.00
Treasurer's bond . . . . .	25.00
Miscellaneous expenses . . . . .	575.37
	<u>\$13, 384.93</u>
Balance old account . . . . .	28.61
	<u>\$13,413.54</u>

## CREDITS.

1909.

March 31. By sundry receipts :

Interest . . . . .	\$34.44
Sales of publications . . . . .	753.25
Income of Dowse Fund . . . . .	593.00
Income of Ellis Fund . . . . .	1,877.66
Income of General Fund . . . . .	2,576.05
Income of Salisbury Fund . . . . .	474.84
Income of C. A. L. Sibley Fund . . . . .	1,067.78
Balance brought down . . . . .	6,036.52
	<u>\$13,413.54</u>

## CASH ACCOUNTS.

## DEBITS.

1908.

March 31. Balance on hand . . . . . \$2,931.91  
 1909.

March 31. Receipts as follows :

Consolidated income from investments . . . . .	23,920.77
Received account of J. E. Sanford Fund . . . . .	1,000.00
Received investments matured . . . . .	35,209.79
General account and sales . . . . .	1,048.17
	<u>\$64,110.64</u>

1909.

## CREDITS.

March 31. By payments as follows:

Investments . . . . .	\$25,843.62
General Account . . . . .	13,384.93
Paid account of incomes:	
Appleton Fund . . . . .	65.07
E. B. Bigelow Fund . . . . .	68.50
Chamberlain Bequest . . . . .	2,155.04
Peabody Fund . . . . .	20.25
C. A. L. Sibley Fund . . . . .	267.08
J. L. Sibley Fund . . . . .	1,932.22
Savage Fund . . . . .	133.02
Waterston Publishing Fund . . . . .	1,372.58
Waterston Library Fund . . . . .	168.25
Waterston Fund . . . . .	429.88
William Winthrop Fund . . . . .	135.20
Balance cash on hand . . . . .	18,135.00
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	\$64,110.64

The income for the year derived from the investments and credited to the several funds in proportion to the amount in which they stand on the Treasurer's books was nearly six per cent.

The present condition of the Society is shown in detail in the foregoing statements and abstracts; but it may be convenient to give the summary in a single sentence. The real estate, which is entirely unincumbered, stands on the books at \$97,990.32, but is valued by the city assessors at \$196,000.

The aggregate amount of the twenty-six permanent funds is \$402,571.66, which, together with unexpended balances and income, is represented by stocks and bonds costing \$439,994.10 and by \$18,135 in cash. The increase in the funds of the Society over the amount reported in the report of the Treasurer for last year is \$10,279.38, which is made up of the \$1,000 received under the will of John E. Sanford and of the unexpended income of the past year of \$9,279.38.

ARTHUR LORD,  
*Treasurer.*

Boston, April 1, 1909.

## REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1909, have attended to that

duty, and report that they find that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report.

They have engaged the services of Mr. Henry A. Piper, a public accountant, who reports to them that he finds the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for, and that the trial balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE, } *Committee.*  
THOMAS MINNS, }

Boston, April 2, 1909.

The LIBRARIAN read his report:

#### REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

During the year there have been added to the Library:

Books . . . . .	514
Pamphlets . . . . .	1186
Bound volumes of newspapers . . . . .	26
Unbound volumes of newspapers . . . . .	33
Broadsides . . . . .	21
Maps . . . . .	5
Manuscripts . . . . .	85
Bound volumes of manuscripts . . . . .	30

In all . . . . . 1900

Of the volumes added, 341 have been given, 106 bought, and 123 formed by binding. Of the pamphlets added, 899 have been given, 281 bought, and 6 procured by exchange.

From the income of the Savage Fund there have been bought 18 volumes and 199 pamphlets; and 34 volumes, containing 173 pamphlets, have been bound at the charge of the same fund.

From the income of the John Langdon Sibley Fund there have been bought 17 volumes, 5 pamphlets, and 1 manuscript, all relating to Harvard College; and 7 volumes of early imprints have been bound and 2 volumes repaired at the charge of the same fund. From the Charlotte A. L. Sibley Fund there have been bought 68 volumes, 77 pamphlets, and 1 manuscript; and 9 volumes, to contain manuscripts, and

1 volume, relating to the Tremont Street building of the Society, have been bound at the charge of the same fund.

From the income of the William Winthrop Fund there have been bound 62 volumes, containing 298 pamphlets, and 34 volumes have been repaired at the charge of the fund.

From the income of the Erastus B. Bigelow Fund, 1 volume has been bought and 6 volumes of newspapers have been bound. From the income of the General Fund 4 volumes have been bound.

From the income of the Dowse Fund there have been bought 2 volumes. According to entries made in the printed catalogue of the Dowse Library, when the books were received in 1856, three volumes were missing. Of these the volumes bought furnish two of the missing titles and have been placed on the shelves.

In the collection of manuscripts there are now 1244 volumes, 192 unbound volumes, 108 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 15,210 manuscripts.

Of the books added to the Rebellion department, 16 volumes have been given and 16 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 14 have been given and 29 bought. There are now in the collection 3229 volumes, 6165 pamphlets, 489 broadsides, and 110 maps.

A bookplate has been made for the Waterston Library by Mr. Sidney Lawton Smith, and impressions have already been placed in about one half of the collection.

Under the authority of the Council, the land-title books, fifty-five volumes in all, bequeathed to the Society by Nathaniel I. Bowditch, by his will proved April 27, 1861, are to remain with his nephew, Mr. Frederick C. Bowditch, until such time as either the Society or Mr. Bowditch wishes to end the agreement. Meanwhile the Society has the privilege of using the volumes in his office at all proper times.

The Library now contains 50,947 volumes, 111,980 pamphlets, and 4776 broadsides.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN,  
*Librarian.*

April 8, 1909.



The CABINET-KEEPER submitted his report:

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER.

The following additions to the Cabinet have been received during the past year:

Six political "tokens"<sup>1</sup>; a print of "The Scotch Victory," inscribed "To the E—l of [Bute] Protector of our Liberties &c this Plate is Humbly Inscribed by L. Junius Brutus"<sup>2</sup>; and a printed handkerchief commemorating the death of Washington.<sup>2</sup> Given by Samuel S. Shaw.

Bird's Eye View of "Twentieth Century Boston," by Bert Poole, 1907, published by the City of Boston Publicity and Information Bureau. Given by Samuel A. Green, M.D.

A colored sketch of Fort Wagner, drawn by Henry Webber, adjutant in the 7th Regiment New Hampshire Volunteers, who was wounded in the attack on the fort. Given by Owen Bryant.

A heliotype of Captain John Linzee,<sup>3</sup> of the Royal Navy, who commanded the sloop-of-war "Falcon" at the Battle of Bunker Hill. Given by Francis H. Brown, M.D.

An enlarged heliotype portrait of Captain John Linzee,<sup>3</sup> from the one mentioned above. Given by John Collins Warren, M.D.

An oil painting, by Gilbert Stuart Newton, of Hon. Stephen Higginson,<sup>4</sup> whose son, Stephen Higginson, Jr., was a member of this Society for nearly ten years. The original painting by Gilbert Stuart is owned by George Higginson, of Lenox. Given by Edward Higginson.

An oil painting of Hon. James Sullivan,<sup>5</sup> first President of the Society from 1791 to 1806, painted by Gilbert Stuart in 1807. Bequest of Richard Sullivan.

A scrap-book containing a collection of 419 Rebellion envelopes, issued in the year 1861. Given by Miss Lucy Sprague Sampson.

Two medals,<sup>6</sup> one of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and the other of the Pan American Exposition at Buffalo in 1901. Given by Grenville H. Norcross.

A photographic enlargement of the half-tone likeness of John Milton<sup>7</sup> from which the cut in the programme of the Tercentenary of his birth, on December 9, 1908, and in the special report of the commemoration, was made. This framed picture stood in the chancel of the

<sup>1</sup> 3 Proceedings, i. 450; <sup>2</sup> 452.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, 1; and Proceedings of the Bunker Hill Monument Association for June 17, 1908, where it appears as an insert.

<sup>4</sup> This was formally presented at the November meeting by T. W. Higginson, our associate member, a grandson. See *ante*, 15, 16.

<sup>5</sup> At the time of its receipt, the November meeting, a descriptive statement was made by Dr. Green. See *ante*, 16, 17.

<sup>6</sup> See *ante*, 15; <sup>7</sup> 48, 68.

First Church during the exercises on that occasion, and was prepared for this purpose under the direction of the committee of arrangements.

Three original drawings in ink and pencil:

I. "View of Charles Town from Copse-Hill Battery. 25 Nov. 1775," drawn by "S. Biggs, Marines";

II. "View of Boston Lines," apparently by the same officer, though not signed;

III. "(1) Charles Town & Entrenchment on the Heights. (2) The Rebels Redoubt & Entrench<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> June since demolish'd. (3) The diff<sup>t</sup> Lines & Works of the Rebels. (4) Our Works &c. The Rebels . . . taken Nov. 28<sup>th</sup>, 1775," by an officer on the British side. Bought from the income of the Waterston Fund.

Respectfully submitted,

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS,

*Cabinet-Keeper.*

BOSTON, April 8, 1909.

Mr. SWIFT read the report of the Committee appointed to examine the Library and Cabinet:

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND CABINET.

Every facility for full examination has been courteously extended to your Committee by Dr. Green, the Librarian, his assistants, and by Mr. Norcross, the Cabinet-Keeper. Some of the observations that we shall make have already been made in previous reports, while some others have presented themselves freshly to us as worthy of note, and we therefore bring them to the attention of the Society, because we believe that such a report as this should be made in good faith and not as a mere matter of routine.

The Library, as it stands, seems to be in good condition and scrupulously cared for. The 51,000 volumes and 112,000 pamphlets are arranged, for the most part, on fire-proof (ordinarily speaking) shelves, and well protected from the usual enemies of books, excessive heat and dust. The valuable work of protecting ancient newspapers by inserting them, scrap-book style, between large manilla sheets, and then binding them in a strong, uncostly way, goes on satisfactorily. We hope that this improved method of preserving all files of early Boston newspapers will be diligently continued.

We notice that the wooden presses, to which attention has

already been called in preceding reports, still remain. The Committee will fall short of its obligation if it fails to remind the Society that this perishable furniture is a menace to property which is really held as a sort of trust for future generations. A fire is always a possibility, and prudence suggests that means should be taken to reduce this possibility to a minimum, and to remove from the Library as far as practicable all combustible material. We therefore hope that the Society will see its way to secure estimates for the installation of steel shelves to replace these threatening and cumbrous presses. As far as we can see, the manuscripts rest securely, though it may be a question whether, in consideration of the great value of these collections, they ought not eventually to find lodgment in a safe large enough to hold them and the other greater treasures of the collection.

The condition of the reserve and duplicate rooms is most gratifying. Cleanliness and order, unusual in such out-of-the-way places, affect one agreeably. Here will be found many volumes which might be disposed of advantageously to other institutions by gift, sale, or exchange, or in any other suitable way, — but disposed of. We are in full accord with the President's forcible remarks on this matter as printed in the Proceedings for October, 1908, page 5. In an examination of the older portion of the Library we find, among other similar material, some one hundred and fifty copies of "Massachusetts and its Early History," published by the Society about forty years ago. Not more than a small number of libraries of this State have ever received copies of this excellent work, and we suggest that the Society would do well to present a considerable portion of the remaining copies to such Massachusetts libraries as can really use them. We noticed, also, some piles of duplicates of old numbers of magazines, — for instance, the North American Review. When a library already has a file, such duplicates are of no value and may properly be thrown away, or sent to dealers who can make use of such material. They have no utility whatever, present or future.

From a purely business point of view, it would be profitable to organize a careful system of exchange of old newspaper duplicates, for it would thus be possible to secure numbers wanted for our files and at the same time rid ourselves of slowly perishing material. It may be, however, that valuable

newspaper duplicates will so increase in value by holding for some years that they may be eventually sold for a considerable sum; this sum might properly be funded with the end in view of devoting the income particularly to the care and acquisition of early newspapers.

This Society is indeed fortunate in having fairly distinct limitations to its aims, for it may properly rid itself of or refuse to accumulate books not properly germane to its purpose. But to discard should be only a part of the policy of growing stronger. It is evident to the Committee that more books of a general sort, necessary to historical investigations, are a real need. For instance, if we are to have Mr. Bryce's and Mr. Lowell's books on government, we also need the works of Dr. Stubbs. The commoner and the greater books should be here, for they are indeed only the kitchen utensils of good scholarly housekeeping. It is probably safe to trust to a kind future for the acquisition by gift — the true means of growth for such a library — of the older and more costly works, but the present-day tools of trade should be bought, since they are not so likely to be given. An increment of only five hundred volumes a year, even when dependent upon gifts alone, is small for an institution of this importance.

One feature of the Library — the Card Catalogue — deserves mention because, like other useful things, it is too often taken for granted. It comprises about 150,000 cards, containing entries of the books, by authors, subjects, and occasionally titles. With every temptation to expand these titles bibliographically, owing to the rarity and interest of many of the books, the Librarian and his assistants have wisely contented themselves with brevity and condensation. As a result they have compressed a vast deal of information into a remarkably small compass in comparison with the practice of other large libraries. The Boston Public Library, for instance, requires about 1,800 running feet of cards to contain its titles of about 800,000 volumes, while the Society's catalogue requires only about 160 running feet for nearly one fifth as many volumes, — a gain in space of considerable magnitude, practically a saving of more than half the space proportionately to the relative size of the two libraries. The cards of the Civil-War collection, as well as the books themselves, are kept separately, and represent a choice and useful possession.

Your Committee shares the desires of the Cabinet-Keeper to make his treasures more valuable and useful by giving them more room. A proper display is impossible at present in the main exhibition room, which, through the fault of no one, has the appearance of an over-crowded shop, more inviting to the historic imagination of a Hawthorne than to present-day visitors. We hope that the plan of Mr. Norcross for an extension of this room will eventually receive the attention it deserves. Such an addition, with a lighted top or dome, would give a chance to display the Society's oil portraits to advantage. At present they are sadly deprived of proper light and distance, though in some few cases obscurity is not undesirable. Your Committee does not hesitate to call attention to the fact that were some of the more popular curiosities—for such they are—and some of the better pictures removed from this crowded room and displayed in Ellis Hall during the summer months, when few members are in town and when visitors most abound, the Society would be doing a serviceable thing to this community and to the strangers who flock eastward to see just such memorials of our past.

If the Society should ever welcome into its ranks a member qualified to take charge, under the general control of the Cabinet-Keeper, of the small but excellent collection of coins and medals, this detached but not unimportant feature would be in better case.

Your Committee now closes this report with the conviction that the Society would lose nothing of its prestige and relinquish no hold on the honorable trust imposed upon it and observed so long and so faithfully, if, unaffected by sensational methods, it were gradually to expand its usefulness to the end that it may stand in public opinion as necessarily conservative, yet ready to bear its part in helpful service to this community.

Respectfully submitted,

LINDSAY SWIFT,	} Committee.
EDWARD H. CLEMENT,	
FREDERIC WINTHROP,	

Mr. PAINE, for the Committee to nominate Officers, presented a list of names for the ensuing year, and the following gentlemen were elected:

*For President.*

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

*For Vice-Presidents.*

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

JAMES FORD RHODES.

*For Recording Secretary.*

EDWARD STANWOOD.

*For Corresponding Secretary.*

HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES.

*For Treasurer.*

ARTHUR LORD.

*For Librarian.*

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

*For Cabinet-Keeper.*

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

*For Members at Large of the Council.*

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

MELVILLE M. BIGELOW.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

JOHN D. LONG.

WALDO LINCOLN.

Dr. Green having been chosen to two offices, William R. Livermore, on motion of Mr. Paine, was elected an additional member of the Council to make the number thirteen.

Dr. EVERETT then read a letter to his father, Hon. Edward Everett, as chairman of the committee to procure the statue of Joseph Warren, by Edward F. Sise, dated at Portsmouth, May 27, 1857, enclosing for his acceptance a manuscript. This manuscript, which was printed in 1775, Dr. Everett presented to the Society.

There were two issues made of this "Oration" at the time. The one, in a quarto, of nine pages, believed to have come from the originators of the event and therefore of Tory or loyal origin, has the following title, "An Oration delivered March Fifteenth, 1775. At the Request of a Number of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston. By Dr Thomas Bolton. . . . Printed in the Year, M,DCC,LXXV."

A second issue, in octavo, of eight pages, has an explanatory

"Advertisement," on the *verso* of the titlepage, in which it is stated that "in ridicule of the anniversary [March 5, when Dr. Warren delivered the oration], . . . The officers of the army and the Tories of the town proposed another annual meeting on the 15th of March, with the delivery of an oration — Wherein the forms of that of the 5th were to be imitated, burlesqued, and ridiculed. The following is the impudent oration delivered on that occasion." This pamphlet was issued after June 17 probably by persons opposed to the loyalists. Both pamphlets are in the Library of the Boston Athenæum, and contain at the end "The Boston Whig-Maker" in verse.

The manuscript states that the "Oration" was delivered "from the Coffee house"; and according to the "Letters and Diary of John Rowe," page 290, under date of March 15, 1775, it was read "from M<sup>rs</sup> Cordis' Balcony," which was probably the same place. Sabin, in his "Dictionary of Books relating to America" (II. 270) under the title of the "Oration," says, "This oration was delivered from the balcony of the British Coffee-House, by a gentleman disguised, to a crowded audience of officers, Tories, etc., in ridicule of that delivered by Dr. Warren."

Mr. NORCROSS exhibited a copy of the first edition of Milton's "Paradise Lost," dated 1667, containing a titlepage different from any heretofore described, of which a fac-simile is given. He said:

In the will of Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, dated March 11, 1859, and proved in Norfolk County Probate Court, April 27, 1861, the 22d item reads: "To my brother William I. Bowditch, who is a great admirer of Milton, I give my copy of Milton's Paradise Lost, the original edition of A. D. 1667."

William Ingersoll Bowditch died at Brookline, January 24, 1909, and this book is loaned to me by Frederick C. Bowditch, the executor of his will. The book has the bookplate of N. I. Bowditch, his signature and date 1844, and contains the titlepage and poem only. This titlepage is the same as that described in a recent bibliography as the "eighth binding of the first edition,"<sup>1</sup> with the very important exception of the

<sup>1</sup> Milton Tercentenary, the Portraits, Prints and Writings of John Milton exhibited at Christ's College, Cambridge, 1908.

Paradise lost.  
A  
P O E M  
IN  
T E N B O O K S.

The Author  
*J O H N M I L T O N.*

L O N D O N,

Printed by *S. Simmons*, and are to be fold by  
*T. Helder*, at the *Angel* in *Little Brittain*,  
1 6 6 7.



date, which is two years earlier, — the year of the first issue of the poem.

This copy disproves the statement made in several of the catalogues that the name of S. Simmons first appears as the printer on the titlepage in the issue of 1668, of which this Society has two copies, in the Dowse Library and the Waterston Collection.

Mr. FORD submitted some facts bearing on the authorship of "New Englands First Fruits":

In 1643 there was published in England a tract of twenty-six pages bearing the following title:

Nevv | Englands | First Fruits; | in respect, |  
 First of the { Conversion of some,  
                   { Conviction of divers, } of the *Indians*. |  
                   { Preparation of sundry, }

2. Of the progresse of *Learning*, in the Colledge at | Cambridge, in *Massacusetts* Bay. | With | Divers other speciall Matters concerning that Countrey. | Published by the instant request of sundry Friends, who desire | to be satisfised in these points by many *New-England* Men | who are here present, and were Eye or Eare- | witnesses of the same. . . . London, | Printed by *R. O* and *G. D.* for *Henry Overton*, and are to be | sold at his Shop in Popes-head-Alley. 1643.

The first section (pp. 1-11, there are numerous mispagings) is devoted to "New Englands First Fruits: 1. In respect of the Indians, &c." and was not reprinted by the Society in 1792 (1 Collections I. 242). If a conjecture can be made as to the authorship of this particular part, I would assign it to Henry Dunster. Considering the intentions of the original Company to make the conversion of the Indians a leading feature of their undertaking, there is a strange silence on the subject in the records, both as to methods, agents and results. In fact one of the complaints made against the Colony was its neglect of the religious condition of the natives. The Indians themselves were surprised, and expressed themselves on that point. Thirteen years after Winthrop had landed, the application of some Indians to be taken under the protection of the English led to framing some general conditions, to which the natives were to subscribe, and in 1644 the General Court took

action towards civilizing the Indians within its jurisdiction and instructing them in religion.<sup>1</sup> The Elders were then called upon to give their views of what should be done,<sup>2</sup> and near the close of 1646, two ministers were to be chosen every year by the Elders of the churches to go, with any who would freely offer themselves, among the Indians and in most familiar manner, by the help of some able interpreter, teach and convert them. This was the origin of Eliot's mission, though he may already have engaged in it without such recognition from the General Court. For he is said to have studied the Indian language for two years before he preached in the native tongue, making use of an Indian who had served as a servant in an English house.<sup>3</sup> Thus it was not until towards the end of 1646 that we have definite information of Eliot's work. Even if an allowance is made of the two years needed to master the language, it would still be too late for Eliot to be concerned in preparing the "First Fruits."

It is supposed that John Wilson was associated with Eliot in his first missionary journey;<sup>4</sup> but we have no evidence of Wilson's being so interested in the work as to have actively engaged in it. Apart from him there is no name that immediately suggests itself.<sup>5</sup> But Lechford published his "Plain Dealing" in 1642, and he there states:

Master Henry Dunster, Schoolmaster of Cambridge, deserves commendations above many; he hath the plat-forme and way of conversion of the Natives, indifferent right, and much studies the same, wherein

<sup>1</sup> November 19, 1644.

<sup>2</sup> October 1, 1645.

<sup>3</sup> This Indian was living in 1649. Eliot then said: "There is an Indian living with Mr. Richard Calicott, of Dorchester, who was taken in the Pequott Warres, though belonging to Long Island; this Indian is ingenious, can read; and I taught him to write, which he quickly learnt, though I know not what use he now maketh of it: He was the first that I made use of to teach me words, and to be my Interpreter." — Winslow, *The Glorious Progresse of the Gospel*, 19.

Mr. Charles Deane falls into an error when he interprets Wood ("New England's Prospect," ch. xviii.) as referring to Eliot, when he speaks of "one of the English Preachers" who had spent much time in attaining to the language of the Indians. Wood left the country in 1633, and published his book in 1634; he was thus writing at least ten years before Eliot began to study the language and some three years before the Pequot war.

<sup>4</sup> Palfrey, ii. 190.

<sup>5</sup> Edward Jackson, who came to the colony in 1643, is closely connected with the reporting of Eliot's talks with the Indians; but we cannot connect him with any earlier meetings, of a like character.

yet he wants not opposition, as some other also have met with: Hé will, without doubt prove an instrument of much good in the Countrey, being a good Scholar, and having skil in the Tongues; He will make it good, that the way to instruct the Indians, must be in their owne language, not English; and that their language may be perfected.<sup>1</sup>

Inasmuch as the second part of the tract is concerned with the college, Dunster must have supplied material and may have prepared the statement. This part is signed "Your very loving friends" and is dated from "Boston, in New England, September the 26, 1642." This manner of signing does not preclude the possibility of the report being the work of one man. Welde, writing from London on the progress of his mission, addresses his letter to "Much Honored, and Reverend, Fathers and Brethren."<sup>2</sup> The overseers of the college named in the first printed copy of the Theses (1642), were John Cotton, John Wilson, John Davenport, Thomas Welde, Hugh Peter, and Thomas Shepard.<sup>3</sup> It was very likely that the section on the college was prepared by Dunster and signed by the overseers, or a committee of them—two of the six being abroad, and to that board or committee Welde reported.

A third part gives an account of some of the remarkable advantages offered to settlers by New England. It is written in the first person plural, and displays an intimate personal knowledge of the actual conditions and recent events in Massachusetts Bay. I was particularly struck with the paragraphs relating to the Pequot war and the antinomian troubles, which may be quoted:

4. In giving us such peace and freedome from enemies, when almost almost all the world is on a fire that (excepting that short trouble with the Pequits) we never heard of any sound of Warres to this day. And in that Warre which we made against them Gods hand from heaven was so manifested, that a very few of our men, in a short time, pursued through the Wildernesse, slew and took prisoners about 1400 of them, even all they could find, to the great terrour and amazement of all the Indians to this day: so that the name of the Pequits (as of *Amaleck*) is blotted out from under heaven, there being not one that is, or, (at least) dare call himselfe a Pequit.

5. In subduing those erronious opinions carried over from hence by

<sup>1</sup> Page 53. See 4 Collections, i. 251.

<sup>2</sup> New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxvi. 39.

<sup>3</sup> New England's First Fruits, 18.

some of the Passengers, which for a time infested our Churches peace but (through the goodness of God) by conference preaching, a generall assembly of learned men, Magistrates timely care, and lastly, by Gods own hand from heaven, in most remarkable stroaks upon some of the chief fomenters of them; the matter came to such an happie conclusion, that most of the seduced came humbly and confessed their Errours in our publique Assemblies and abide to this day constant in the Truth; the rest (that remained obstinate) finding no fit market there to vent their wares, departed from us to an Iland farre off; some of whom also since that time have repented and returned to us, and are received againe into our bosomes. And from that time not any unsound, unsavourie and giddie fancie have dared to lift up his head, or abide the light among us (p. 21).

The paragraph numbered 5 gives the strong bias of the writers in favor of the administration of the colony, and on a question or dispute of nearly five years' standing. They refer to the troubles arising from the case of Mrs. Hutchinson, and show a familiarity with the events that followed her banishment. This tract appeared one year before the "Short Story," in which the Hutchinson trial was given in such detail, and while it could have been compiled by the college overseers, I am strongly of the belief that it was written in England, and I see no reason for doubting that it was prepared by either Hugh Peter or Thomas Welde, both of whom had taken an active share in the proceedings against Mrs. Hutchinson, and were at this time in England.<sup>1</sup> The paragraph expresses what a firm supporter of the conduct of the so-called trial and the sentence would say, and brief as it is, the statement contains everything necessary to justify the suppression of "erroneous opinions."

Having narrowed the question down to two probable writers,

<sup>1</sup> It is possible to read into some of the phrases of this section of the "First Fruits" the preparation of it in England, and the fact that the writer had some knowledge of Holland. The cold of New England is said to be "not a moist and foggie cold as in Holland, and some parts of England" (p. 25). In reply to the objection that "many are grown weaker in their estates since they went over," it is said "Are not diverse in London broken in their Estates?" and 8th objection reads "Why doe many come away from thence?" and in the reply "hither" is used (p. 26). Finally, the sending of poor children and of servants and instruments to work the iron mines is mentioned. John Winthrop, the younger, returned to New England in 1643, with money and workmen to start iron works. — Winthrop, ii. 212. It will be recalled that he accompanied the commissioners to England in 1641.

further evidence may be sought in another direction. The statement of the advantages offered by the colony soon passes from numbered reasons to a series of "objections" and "answers." Welde's "Innocency Cleared" is cast in the same form.<sup>1</sup> On the titlepage of the "First Fruits" we read "Published by the instant request," etc.; and the titlepage of the "Short Story" imitates the language thus: "Published at the instant request of sundry, by one that was an eye and ear-witnesse of the carriage of matters there." The two titlepages are both very long, and on much the same model, and each contains two quotations from Scripture, naturally different by reason of the subjects treated in the books. Lastly, comparing the words on the Hutchinson matter used in the "First Fruits" with those on the titlepage of the "Short Story" this parallel results:

"First Fruits"

. . . by a general assembly of  
learned men, Magistrates timely care,  
and lastly, by Gods own hand from  
heaven, in most remarkable stroaks  
upon some of the chief fomenters of  
them . . .

"Short Story"

. . . by the Assembly of Minis-  
ters there: As also of the Magis-  
trates proceedings in Court against  
them. Together with Gods strange  
and remarkable judgments from  
Heaven upon some of the chief  
fomenters . . .

I conclude that Thomas Welde and Hugh Peter were the authors of the third part of the "First Fruits," and that Welde was more active in its preparation and printing than Peter.

In making this excursion into conjectures I took off the names of printers and publishers in England who were active in putting forth the various religious and controversial tracts written by New Englanders, and appearing from the press between the years 1642 and 1646. The Massachusetts court in 1645 passed its vote recalling its agents, but neither Welde nor Peter ever returned to America. This naturally limits the period to be covered, and the field was further limited to such publications as were on the side of New England's policy in church or state. The result surprised me by showing to what degree the publication was in a comparatively few names. It is not

<sup>1</sup> New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxvi. 67.

impossible that the larger number of those publications passed through the hands of Peter and Welde. A great reason for this activity was the dispute raging in England over religious toleration, and in this controversy the two New Englanders were very active.<sup>1</sup>

Peter, Welde, and Hibbins reached England in the fall of 1641. In that year three tracts of Cotton's (not counting his "Abstract of the Laws") were issued in London, one of them without a printer's name. His "Way of Life" was printed by M. F. for L. Fawne and S. Gellibrand, and his "God's Mercie mixed with Ivstice," by G. M. for Edward Brewster, and Henry Hood. William Hooke's "New England's Teares" was twice printed, once by E. G. and again by T. P.<sup>2</sup> and in each case, for John Rothwell and Henry Overton. Peter also printed his "Milke for Babes and Meat for Men" by E. P. for J. W. Arber's "Stationer's Register," shows that Overton published from 1629, and he put forth many religious works, notably sermons of Dr. John Stoughton. In this last undertaking (1639) Ralph Smith was one of his associates.

Beginning with 1642 and continuing through 1646, we find publications by Cotton, Huit, Richard Mather, Welde, Phillips, Hooke, Hooker, and Winslow, all New England men. Of the nineteen titles noted, eleven were printed for Henry Overton. One of Welde's and the only issue by Peter were published by Overton, and the second tract of Welde ("Short Story") was printed for Ralph Smith, who, as has been shown, was associated with Overton. Second in importance was Matthew Simmons, and third was Benjamin Allen, whose widow printed some of the so-called Indian tracts. This is a feature of the bibliography of that period which has not yet been studied. The following are the nineteen titles:

COTTON, JOHN. The Churches Resurrection. 1642. Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Henry Overton.

<sup>1</sup> See C. F. Adams, Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 26 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Arber's invaluable "Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640," prints the Second Star Chamber Decree regulating Printing, July 11, 1637, in which are named the "Twentie Master Printers" who were to be permitted to ply this trade. As there was little change between 1637 and 1640 it is safe to assign the following names to the initials just given in the text: Miles Flesher (1617-1640), George Miller (1618-1640), Edward Griffin (1637-1640), and Thomas Purslow (1637- ).

G. D. was probably Gregory Dexter, who printed Roger Williams' "Key into the Language of America," in 1643. R. O. was Richard Oulton.

COTTON, JOHN. The Powring out of the Seven Vials: 1642. Printed for R. S. and are to be sold by H. Overtons shop in Popes-head Alley.

"To the Christian Reader," signed, I. H.

Reissued in 1646, with same printer and seller. R. S. was probably Ralph Smith, printer of Welde's "Short Story," in 1644.

COTTON, JOHN. A Modest and Cleare Answer to Mr. Ball's Discourse of set formes of Prayer. 1642. Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Henry Overton, in Popes Head Alley.

HUIT, EPHRAIM [Pastor to the church at Windsor in New-England.] The Whole Prophecie of David explained. 1643. Printed for Henry Overton, and are to be sold at his Shop, entering into Popes-head Alley.

MATHER, RICHARD. Church-Government and Church-Covenant discussed. 1643. Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Benjamin Allen, and are to be sold at his Shop in Popeshead-Alley.

"To the Reader," by Hugh Peter.

[MATHER, RICHARD.] An Apologie of the Churches in New England for Chvrch-Covenant. 1643. Printed by T. P. and M[atthew] S[immons] for Benjamin Allen.

New England's First Fruits. 1643. Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Henry Overton, and are to be sold at his Shop in Popes-head-Alley.

COTTON, JOHN. The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven. 1644. Printed by M. Simmons for Henry Overton.

MATHER, RICHARD. A Modest and Brotherly Answer to Mr. Charles Herle his Book. 1644. Printed for Henry Overton.

A Paraeneticke or Humble Adresse to the Parliament and Assembly for (not loose, but) Christian Libertie. 1644. Printed by Matthew Simmons for Henry Overton, in Popes-Head-Alley.

Attributed to Roger Williams. Three of his books were issued in this year without name of printers, and two of these were issued without name of author.

WELDE, THOMAS. An Answer to W. R[athband]. 1644. Printed by Thomas Paine for H. Overton, and are to be sold at his shop entering into Popes-Head Alley out of Lumbard-Streete.

[WELDE, THOMAS]. A Short Story of the Rise, reign and ruine of the Antinomians, &c. 1644. Printed for Ralph Smith at the signe of the Bible in Cornhill neare the Royall Exchange.

A Brief Narration of the Practices of the Churches in New England. 1645. Matthew Simmons for John Rothwell, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Sunne, in Pauls Church-yard.

COTTON, JOHN. The way of the Churches of Christ in New England. 1645. Printed by Matthew Simmons, in Aldersgate-Streete.

HOOKE, WILLIAM. New-England's Sence of Old England and Irelands Sorrowes. 1645. Printed for John Rothwell.

HOOKE, THOMAS. A briefe Exposition of the Lords Prayer. 1645. Printed by Moses Belle for Benjamine Allen, and are to be sold at his shop in Popes-head Alley at the signe of the Crowne.

PHILLIPS, GEORGE [of Watertown, Mass.]. A Reply to a Confutation of Some Grounds for Infants Baptisme. 1645. Printed by M. Simmons for H. Overton.

"To the Reader," by Thomas Shepard. Shepard's "New England's Lamentation for Old England's present Errors," was printed in 1645 by George Miller; and his "Day Breaking," in 1647, by Richard Cotes for Fulk Clifton. Clifton was seller of Hooker's "Soules Implantation" printed in 1640 by R. Young.

WINSLOW, EDWARD. Hypocrisie Vnmasked. 1646. Printed by Richard Cotes for John Bellamy at the three Golden Lions in Cornhill, neare the Royall Exchange.

The same printer and publisher issued his "New England's Salamander" in 1647. In this latter year Cotton's "Bloudy Tenent washed" and "Singing of Psalms on Gospel-Ordinance" were printed by Matthew Simmons for Hannah Allen; but his "Grovnuds and Euds of the Baptisme of the Children of the Faithfull" was printed by R[ichard] C[otes] for Andrew Crooke, "at the Sign of the Green Dragon in Pauls-churchyard."

PETER, HUGH. Mr. Peters Last Report of the English Wars. 1646. Printed by M[atthew] S[immons] for H. Overton.

Mr. FORD also submitted two papers on the incident of defacing the ensign in 1634, at Salem:

In November, 1634, complaint was made to the Court of Assistants that the ensign at Salem had been defaced by cutting out one part of the red cross. Ensign Richard Davenport was thereupon directed to appear at the next Court with his colors, and with "any other" that hath defaced the said colors.<sup>1</sup> Winthrop says:

Much matter was made of this, as fearing it would be taken as an act of rebellion, or of like nature, in defacing the king's colors; though the truth were, it was done upon this opinion, that the red cross was given to the king of England by the pope, as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing, and a-relique of anti christ.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Colonial Records, i. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Winthrop, i. \*146.



James Cudworth, writing to England from Scituate, in December, 1634, took the matter in all seriousness, thus :

One thinge I canot but relate and that not only with grefe for and with feare of what will bee the event of a strange thinge put in practice by sum in the Church of Salem but by whome I heare not and that is they have cut out the Crose in the flage or Ansient that they Cari before them when they treyne, inded it is contrary to the mindes and willes of all that I cann heare of. Captaine Indicot there Captaine is a holy honest man and duns utterly abandon it and who are the Aegeentes in it I cannot heare.<sup>1</sup>

As no Court was held in the three winter months, the subject did not come before the magistrates till March, 1635. In the meantime all the ministers except Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich, were asked by the magistrates to give an opinion on the lawfulness of carrying the cross in the banners. The opinion was so divided that a decision was deferred.<sup>2</sup> The General Court was no less incapable of coming to a conclusion upon the matter. Endecott was called to answer for defacing the cross ; but "because the Court could not agree about the thing, whether the ensigns should be laid by, in regard that many refused to follow them," the cause was deferred, and in the meantime all ensigns should be laid aside.<sup>3</sup> In the margin of the Court records is noted "Mr. Endicott censure," but no censure was passed upon him. The resolution speaks of the "act of Mr. Endicott" in altering the cross,<sup>4</sup> thus fixing the responsibility, in spite of what Dr. Cudworth says.

In the May Court Endecott was dropped from the magistrates, and a committee of thirteen was named to report upon his offence. This committee was named by each town's choosing one, and the magistrates four. A report was made an hour or two after, and, as given in the Colony Records, came to this end :

. . . they apprehend hee had offended therein many wayes, in rashnes, vncharitablenes, indiscreçon, and exceeding the lymitts of his calling ; wherevpon the Court hath sensured him to be sadly admonished for his offence, w<sup>ch</sup> accordingly he was, and also disenabled for bearing any office in the comon wealth, for the space of a yeare nexte ensueing.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Historical Collections, Essex Institute, ix. pt. ii. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Winthrop, i. \*154 ; <sup>3</sup> \*156.

<sup>4</sup> Colonial Records, i. 137.

<sup>5</sup> Colonial Records, i. 146. The names of the committee are given on page 145.

Winthrop is a little more full in defining some of the adjectives used :

. . . rash and without discretion, taking upon him more authority than he had, and not seeking advice of the court, etc. ; uncharitable, in that he, judging the cross, etc., to be a sin, did content himself to have reformed it at Salem, not taking care that others might be brought out of it also ; laying a blemish also upon the rest of the magistrates, as if they would suffer idolatry, etc., and giving occasion to the state of England to think ill of us ; . . . [here follows the sentence] declining any heavier sentence, because they were persuaded he did it out of tenderness of conscience, and not of any evil intent.<sup>1</sup>

Here ended the incident so far as the Colony records are concerned. Among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum (No. 4888, folio 86) is a paper which from its catalogue title I supposed to be a satirical skit upon the matter. Upon reading it I found that it soon drops the tone of the introductory portion, and becomes a plain summary of the arguments on either side of the question. From this I should judge that the first part was added by some one in England, and this is partially confirmed by the note which attributes the defacing of the standard to Sir Henry Vane, a mistake that no New Englander could have committed. This Harleian manuscript is now printed for the first time.

The second part of y<sup>e</sup> Frier's case mentiond and recited in the Roman Horsleech, or an Account of an as famous and Rideculous Action and Dispute that Happend in New England about y<sup>e</sup> year 1633 whether y<sup>e</sup> Red Cross in the Banner of England was an Idol or no, with y<sup>e</sup> Arguments urged on both sides.

In 1633, or thereabouts, when People were Revelation mad and Drunk with Scism and Blind Zeal one of y<sup>e</sup> Chief Men of Boston in New Engl: \* being then in Authority and warmd with a Lecture against that which y<sup>e</sup> Ignorant call Superstition, with a Daring Impudence set up for a Reformer of y<sup>e</sup> King's Colours and haveing taken y<sup>e</sup> same in his sanctifyd Hands took his Conscience to Witness against a Monstrous Idol that he found therein, to witt, a Great Cross, and thereupon drawing his knife bravely cut it out with a great deal of Self Satisfaction and applause and y<sup>e</sup> next day boldly confess'd and Defended y<sup>e</sup> same.

This Unparrallel'd Act created Great Differences in y<sup>e</sup> Town, amongst all sorts of People, as well amongst those who had nothing to do with affairs of such a Nature as those that had in so much that y<sup>e</sup> very Women were fit to pull coive's about it. As for y<sup>e</sup> Common Soldier's

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop, i. \*158.

\* It was S<sup>r</sup> Henry Vane [note on the MS.].

who had as little of Religion as Courage or Honesty amongst them, most of them commended y<sup>e</sup> Act declairing that theyd sooner turn Heathen's and yield to y<sup>e</sup> Enemy than follow or fight under a Popeish Idol, a Cross (Lord have mercy upon us!) they'd have no more to do with than with him that sufferd upon one. Yet others amongst them Maintaind y<sup>e</sup> Lawfulness thereof, and that they would not deny following y<sup>e</sup> same in their Colours least that they should seem to cast of their Allegiance to y<sup>e</sup> Crown of England.

At length this Mighty Matter was carryd on with such fury that y<sup>e</sup> whole Collony seemd to be in an uproar, so that the General Court were forced to take it into their Cognizance where after a great Bustle and Stir a Committee was Chosen and appointed both by y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates and People, of y<sup>e</sup> Freemen of y<sup>e</sup> Collony to examin into y<sup>e</sup> Matter, where after many teadious Debates, It was Carryed by three Votes that tho' their Brother had down well and acted like a Good tender Conscion'd Christian, that yet nevertheless he had not done prudently, and tho that he did not deserve any punishment for y<sup>e</sup> Act it self; yet that he ought to be discharged his place in y<sup>e</sup> Government for y<sup>e</sup> same for going so bunglingly about it, and for fear that their Charters and Priviledges should by a Seizure from y<sup>e</sup> King make an attonement for y<sup>e</sup> same. Upon which he was called in Court and this Cruel, Hard, Sentence of Deposition passd mildly upon him, and he himself Registerd amongst y<sup>e</sup> St and Suffurers of y<sup>e</sup> Lord for y<sup>e</sup> Testimony that he bore against a Popish Idol. Yet at y<sup>e</sup> same time did they fully agree that seeing that y<sup>e</sup> Cross was cut out, and that it undoubtedly was a Badg of Antichrist and a Mark of y<sup>e</sup> Limb of y<sup>e</sup> Divel, and that no one of their Side y<sup>e</sup> Great Dike had any Power to put it in again, that therefore y<sup>e</sup> use of it should be forborn for y<sup>e</sup> future amongst them, for fear that y<sup>e</sup> People should turn Idolater's and God should bring upon them beside's y<sup>e</sup> Plague's of Impudence, Heresey, Scism, Blind, Superstition and such like, all those not half so ill [as] y<sup>e</sup> Ten Plagues of Egypt.

The Rever'nd Spit-Fire's that were summond from all y<sup>e</sup> Country round and commanded to lay their heads together upon this Weighty Matter argued against y<sup>e</sup> use of y<sup>e</sup> Cross in y<sup>e</sup> Banner thus —

The Question sayd they is not, whether a Private Man may not march after his Colours, which have the Cross in them: for y<sup>e</sup> Christian Legions never scrupled following y<sup>e</sup> Labarum of y<sup>e</sup> Roman Emperor's which was an Idolatrous Ensign. Yea y<sup>e</sup> Jews themselves that made such earnest suit first unto Pilate and then unto Petronius to have such an Idolatrous Ensign removed from y<sup>e</sup> Walls of their Temple: Yet without any Scruple followd it in y<sup>e</sup> field. Nor is it y<sup>e</sup> Question (sayd they) whether y<sup>e</sup> Cross may be used in our Colours, as a Charm to protect us from our Enemys, or to defend us from Disasters, or to procure Victorys

unto us. tho' y<sup>e</sup> faith which y<sup>e</sup> Roman Catholicks have in it mentiond by Hoveden in y<sup>e</sup> Reign of Hen y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> when Engl: France, and Flanders, distinguished themselves by their Varietys of it, ever since retaind, is abominable to all real Protestants. But y<sup>e</sup> Question is whether y<sup>e</sup> Cross as representing y<sup>e</sup> Cross of Christ, erected as a Badg of Christianity, and a Sign of Distinction between Christians and Infidels may by any Prince or State, be now in their Banners reserved and Employd? this they approved not, and that for all these doughty Reason's.

First, That which God hath commanded utterly to be destroyd should not be retained for y<sup>e</sup> Important uses of Men: But God has Commanded y<sup>e</sup> Cross in y<sup>e</sup> Banner to be destroyd. this may be thus proved. Images of Idols are commanded utterly to be destroyd; But y<sup>e</sup> Cross in y<sup>e</sup> Banner is y<sup>e</sup> Image of an Idol, and y<sup>e</sup> Greatest Idol in y<sup>e</sup> Church of Rome. As for y<sup>e</sup> Text in Deutr: where this is commanded it dos affect Christians as well as Jews, because that y<sup>e</sup> Moral Reason of y<sup>e</sup> Command yet continuues. If that it be objected that then the Temples of Idols were to be destroyd it may be answerd, Theodosius made a Law that they should be so. However we may distinguish between Temples dedicated unto Idols and such Temples as were dedicated unto God by Creatures. Y<sup>e</sup> Papists with Aquinas deny their Temples to have been dedicated unto Saints, But affirm them dedicated unto y<sup>e</sup> Honour and Service of God for his Blessings communicated by y<sup>e</sup> Saints whose Names are used on this Occasion. These Temples being Purgd from their Superstitious Designations may be still used for our Christian Assemblys as our Saviour used y<sup>e</sup> Jewish Water Pots to turn Water into Wine tho' they were superstitious Purifications for which they were placed there.

2<sup>dly</sup> There is no Civel Honour to be given to y<sup>e</sup> Image of an Idol, y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment forbids all sorts of Honour not only sacred but Civel also to such an Image, Yea, and elsewhere all mention of it with Honour is prohibited. But now to advance the Cross into y<sup>e</sup> Banner is to put a Civel and no little Honour upon it, it is y<sup>e</sup> Cross in y<sup>e</sup> Ensign which dos now Insignire and render it Ensign, and it was y<sup>e</sup> Intention of Constantine to Honour y<sup>e</sup> Cross when he Interdicted all Execution's of Malefactors upon it, and advanced it into his Banner.

3<sup>dly</sup> If y<sup>e</sup> figure of y<sup>e</sup> Altar in Damascus might not be used as a Badg of y<sup>e</sup> Religion and Profession of y<sup>e</sup> Israelites: then y<sup>e</sup> figure of y<sup>e</sup> Cross may not be used as a Badg of y<sup>e</sup> Religion and Profession of y<sup>e</sup> Protestants. For there is a like proportion. For y<sup>e</sup> Papists regard y<sup>e</sup> Cross as y<sup>e</sup> Altar where on our Lord was offerd; now such a figure of an Altar was Unlawfull to y<sup>e</sup> People of God.

4<sup>ly</sup> That which was Execrable to our Lord, y<sup>e</sup> Sign of it should not be honourable to us. But so was y<sup>e</sup> Cross of our Lord, for it made his

Death accursed, nor was it a pure Instrument of mere Matyrdom unto him.

5<sup>ly</sup> If y<sup>e</sup> Partakeing of Idolothytes in y<sup>e</sup> Places where y<sup>e</sup> Idols are Worshipd, express a Communion with Idols and Idolaters: then y<sup>e</sup> setting up of y<sup>e</sup> Cross in y<sup>e</sup> Places where Idolaters do worship it, namely in y<sup>e</sup> Banner is an Expression of Communion in their Idolatry. Tis true such meats when sold in y<sup>e</sup> Shambles might be eaten without Scruple of Conscience; but besides this that it was onely a Common place where these might be eaten: whereas y<sup>e</sup> Cross on y<sup>e</sup> Banner is in y<sup>e</sup> Temple where y<sup>e</sup> Apocaliptic Gentiles adore it. Besides that they were Creatures of God whereas y<sup>e</sup> Cross in y<sup>e</sup> Banner is onely a Human Contrivance. So if it had been Lawfull for a Man to have bought y<sup>e</sup> silver shrines of Diana and have caused them to be worn for y<sup>e</sup> Cognizance of his family or his attendants: y<sup>e</sup> Cross might perhaps have been lawfully used in y<sup>e</sup> Banner for a cognizance.

Lastly, if y<sup>e</sup> first Use of y<sup>e</sup> Cross in y<sup>e</sup> Banner by Constantine was superstitious: then y<sup>e</sup> first fruits being Unclean y<sup>e</sup> whole Lump of y<sup>e</sup> following use is also unclean. But Eusebius tells us that y<sup>e</sup> Emperor used this saveing Sign as a protection against all Warlike and Hostil Powers. And Sosomen tells us, That y<sup>e</sup> Emperor changed y<sup>e</sup> Image of y<sup>e</sup> Roman Labarum for y<sup>e</sup> Sign of y<sup>e</sup> Cross that so y<sup>e</sup> Soldiers who were accustomed to Worship y<sup>e</sup> Heathen Imperial Ensign, by y<sup>e</sup> Continual Sight and Worship of y<sup>e</sup> Cross might be weaned from their Country rights and brought on to worship that God alone whose sign it was.

On y<sup>e</sup> other side they that pleaded for y<sup>e</sup> use of y<sup>e</sup> Cross in y<sup>e</sup> Banner, argued after this fashion. To state y<sup>e</sup> Question we must know that it is necessary that there should be a Banner displayd, and a Banner with a Cross in it serves y<sup>e</sup> End of a Banner as much as any other. Had y<sup>e</sup> Cross never been superstitiously abused, the Civel use of that figure could not be questiond. But y<sup>e</sup> superstitious abuse is a thing that is added unto y<sup>e</sup> Civel use, and accordingly y<sup>e</sup> superstitious abuse may again be removed from it. Otherwise what a Desolation of Bells and other things must be produced by a just Reformation of Superstitions? Wherefore if y<sup>e</sup> present Authority dos neither appoint nor declare any Superstition in y<sup>e</sup> Observation of any Civel usage, y<sup>e</sup> Superstition of that usage is at an End. Thus tho' it be notoriously known that many Persons in Authority have their superstitious Conceits about Churches: Yet in as much as there is no Injunction of authority upon private persons to approve any such Conceits tis no Superstition in such persons to use those Churches unto Lawfull Uses or purposes. Y<sup>e</sup> Question then is whether y<sup>e</sup> Civel Use of y<sup>e</sup> Cross in y<sup>e</sup> Banner may not be separated from y<sup>e</sup> Superstitious abuse of it. And it seems as it may.

First. If names that have been abused for y<sup>e</sup> Honour of Idols may

in a Civel Way be still used: then things that have been so abused may be in y<sup>e</sup> like manner used for a Civel Distinction. But we find y<sup>e</sup> Names of Apollo and Phœbe and y<sup>e</sup> like used in y<sup>e</sup> Apostolic Salutations. Altho' it had been a less difficulty for those persons to have changed y<sup>e</sup> Names at first sinfully imposed upon them: than for y<sup>e</sup> Cross in y<sup>e</sup> Banner to be now wholly layd aside. If any Heathen King put an Honour upon his Idol Bell by saying O Belteshazar, y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of God may speak it without any Honour at all to that Idol.

2<sup>dly</sup> It is one thing to describe a Cross as an Artificial thing by way of Civel Signification and another thing to employ a Cross as a Sacramental thing by way of sacred Observation. And in y<sup>e</sup> Banner tis y<sup>e</sup> former, not y<sup>e</sup> latter way that it is considerd. When I am relating how a Papist crosses himself, I may lawfully express it by makeing an Aerial Cross like his. Whereas it would not be lawfull for me to make such a Cross upon y<sup>e</sup> same ends with him.

3<sup>dly</sup> If that y<sup>e</sup> Cross first used by Constantine had in it any thing Unwarrantable it follows not, that y<sup>e</sup> following use of it, is of y<sup>e</sup> same Lump with y<sup>e</sup> first. For if it now be used upon another Design the Uncleaness is taken away. Besides Constantine brought y<sup>e</sup> Cross with as much Unwarrantableness into his Coins as he did into his Banner. But tis certain that there are few or none this day that would refuse money tho' they got thereon a Popeish Idol, but would set mighty Esteem on it y<sup>e</sup> Bigger and y<sup>e</sup> better y<sup>e</sup> Cross was.

4<sup>ly</sup> Meats tho' sacrificed unto Idols might be eaten when sold and bought in y<sup>e</sup> Market. Now a Cross is an Effect of Art, and is a Creature of Gods as well as any of y<sup>e</sup> Meats bred and cooked by Men.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Savage mentions in his note on page \*158 the existence of a tract in the Hutchinson Papers on this subject by the celebrated Hooker, and adds, "I have neither courage nor curiosity enough to study it." Upon reading it I found it must have formed the basis for the arguments of the Harleian paper on one side of the controversy, and, as such, was a much more full and complete exposition of the questions involved. It is now printed from the original in the State Archives.<sup>2</sup>

#### TOUCHINGE Y<sup>r</sup> CROSSE IN Y<sup>r</sup> BANNERS.

Before I speake directly to y<sup>e</sup> main Quest: I shall preface a word w<sup>ch</sup> I conceive may not bee unsutable, consideringe present motions y<sup>t</sup> are amonge vs respectinge this case:

<sup>1</sup> From Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, no. 4888, fol. 86. The volume is labelled "Historical Papers and Tracts."

<sup>2</sup> Hutchinson Papers, i. 8. My thanks are due to Mr. Tracy for permission to take a copy.

1. To starte new Questions, and to adde definitive detēinations y<sup>u</sup>nto and y<sup>b</sup>y to sentence and censure y<sup>e</sup> carriages of other men: is a practise w<sup>h</sup> as I have euer conceived not to bee safe, so I suspect not to bee so warrantable, as many may Imagine at y<sup>e</sup> first appearance.

For it is y<sup>e</sup> order y<sup>t</sup> our Saviour prescribes in proceedinge w<sup>th</sup> a particular brother: Mat. 18. 15. If yy brother sinn against thee goe and convincingly rebuke him: (as y<sup>e</sup> greeke word Imports) first sett him downe by argum<sup>t</sup> and shew him his sinn, and then rebuke him for his sinn.

Now y<sup>e</sup> Conviction standes not in y<sup>e</sup> bare and Naked proposall of arg<sup>ts</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Consideration of an other, but time afd meanes must be graunted and Liberty to use both, which may bee answerable to y<sup>e</sup> waight of y<sup>e</sup> Cause or weakenesse of y<sup>e</sup> man. So in regard of both satisfaction may be seasonably attained in a way of providence.

And if y<sup>s</sup> bee y<sup>e</sup> way when our L<sup>d</sup> Xt prescribes for our dealinge w<sup>th</sup> a particular brother: y<sup>n</sup> much more should wee bee wary and tender that wee doe not suddenly censure many states and churches: professinge y<sup>e</sup> truth of Xt. for such y<sup>ngc</sup> as have beene constantly received and practised as Lawfull: before sufficient Liberty of time and meanes have beene graunted for information herin:

2. If y<sup>e</sup> Q<sup>n</sup>: thus sprunge cannot for y<sup>e</sup> present bee settled w<sup>th</sup> Agree<sup>mt</sup> on all handes, it hath beene counted a course comely and pious rather to ripen y<sup>e</sup> truth by private and studious Inquiry untill all helpes of information can be brought in w<sup>ch</sup> may drawe on a full determination, then to trouble and darken y<sup>e</sup> truth and distemper mens mindes by open contestation and opposition.

Follow y<sup>e</sup> truth we must. 4 Ephes. 15 yet if it bee possible and as much as in us lyeth, bee at peace w<sup>th</sup> all men. 12 Rom: 18

By sedulous and private inquiry on y<sup>e</sup> one hand: sending out for light and direction into other places, wee doe regularly according to our Compasse follow y<sup>e</sup> truth.

By sparinge contestatiō and censorius opposition, neither raisinge nor spreadinge unbrotherly surmises, and Jealousyes to blemish y<sup>e</sup> proceedings of either party: we follow peace. For it lyes in us not only in our power and liberty, but it lyes upon us necessarily; to preferre peace before contestation and heart burninge: while wee prejudice not y<sup>e</sup> truth but are watchefully painefull to persue it in a peaceable manner:

And y<sup>s</sup> was y<sup>e</sup> cause I doe truly affirme for my owne part, why I was willing to suspend expressinge myself in y<sup>s</sup> Case: Not y<sup>t</sup> I either could be feared whither y<sup>e</sup> Cross stood or fell, but y<sup>t</sup> I might in quietnes, waite and expect where at y<sup>e</sup> Last y<sup>e</sup> truth would appeare w<sup>th</sup> undeniable evidence: beinge seriously content as in y<sup>e</sup> sight of y<sup>e</sup> god of truth, it should appeare in any side.

3. That now I shall expresse myself (my witsnesse is in heaven) is not like of opposition to any mans person or opinion. For y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>d</sup> knoweth it is my affliction to differe in Judg<sup>mt</sup>, from any of my faithfull brethren : and most crosse is my inclination to expresse contrariety therin.

But beinge Importuned publiquesly, privately by speech and Letter : and that by some to whom I owe much in y<sup>e</sup> Lord : and without whoes invitation it was in my Hearte never to sett penn to paper, on y<sup>s</sup> point : conceivinge my self thus constrained by call to expresse my sudden apprehensions

I shall crave leave by way of inquisition only to propose an argument or two :

Not y<sup>t</sup> I am a Friend to y<sup>e</sup> Crosse as an Idoll or to any Idollatry in it : or that any carnall Fear takes mee asyde and makes me unwilling to give way to y<sup>e</sup> evidence of y<sup>e</sup> truth, becaus of y<sup>e</sup> sad Consequencies y<sup>t</sup> may bee suspected to flowe from it : I blesse y<sup>e</sup> Lord my consciens accuseth mee of no such y<sup>nge</sup> : but that as yet I am not able to see y<sup>e</sup> sinfulness of y<sup>e</sup> banner in a civile use : Those who see more by grace received, and to whom y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>d</sup> is pleased to give a more speedy discerninge of ynges propounded to you : must not take it Ill if those who have beene Longe settled in som principles (w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>y</sup> conceive to bee truth) are [*illegible*] of apprehension to see thorough ynges objected or yet to cleare y<sup>t</sup> owne thoughts ; and yf ore need and crave longer time of consideratiō before they can come to determine any thinge.

4. When our faithfull fellow brethren in y<sup>e</sup> places from whens wee came will of necessity bee imbarcked in y<sup>e</sup> Cause and Consequences now in agitation, I could wish it were well considered, whither it bee not only comely and safe but necessary in a kinde, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Counsell and advice should bee craved to see whether any beame of truth may bee cast in from y<sup>ns</sup>.

For bee it graunted that it ware y<sup>e</sup> unanimous consent of all our plantations to remove y<sup>e</sup> ensigne upon reasons stronge to our owne apprehension, which notwithstandinge beinge propounded to y<sup>e</sup> examinatiō of other churches, might receive such answers as could by us in no wise be removed, how uncomfortable would it bee y<sup>t</sup> wee did not feele for direction in doubtfull cases, which w<sup>n</sup> wee receive wee are not able to gainsay.

The state of y<sup>e</sup> Q<sup>n</sup> may bee cleared and conceived by y<sup>e</sup> severall expressions followinge :

1. It is requisite yea necessary y<sup>t</sup> som banner be displayed in warre :
2. This banner in a civile way is as apt to attaine y<sup>e</sup> end in gatheringe and guidinge souldiers as any other :
3. Had it never beene abused Idolatrously and superstitiously, y<sup>n</sup> had beene no more Q<sup>tion</sup> of using y<sup>s</sup> y<sup>n</sup> any other :
4. This abuse is y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is superadded to y<sup>e</sup> civile use, namely when



it was Impiously instituted and observed as a Cause of protection from danger ; or delivering men out of danger, y<sup>n</sup> was it made an Idoll and sett in y<sup>e</sup> roome of god, in whoes handes protection and preservation only is.

When also it was ordained and appointed as a morall or sacramentall sighne to draw or stirre the hearte to xt in Love or hope than became it superstitious.

5. This superstitious abuse as it was superadded, so may it againe bee removed from y<sup>e</sup> naturall and civle use hereof beinge only a seperable adjunct.

For y<sup>e</sup> old truth unto w<sup>ch</sup> all those who have endeavoured reformation stand, and unto w<sup>ch</sup> I doe mainly attend in ys case, was and is this.

Things abused to Idolatry whereof y<sup>r</sup> is no necessary use ought to bee removed. but if y<sup>r</sup> bee a necessary use of y<sup>m</sup> (as in Bells and churches) then y<sup>e</sup> use necessary in a way of providence may bee retained, and y<sup>e</sup> Idolatry and superstition reformed :

6. So y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>n</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Qtion is how came y<sup>e</sup> banners y<sup>t</sup> ware Idolatrous and superstitious in Queene Maryes dayes to bee neither in Queen Elizabeths,

The answer is open and at hand. Even as y<sup>e</sup> Bells and churches w<sup>ch</sup> were Idolatrous and superstitious in popish abuse retaine y<sup>e</sup> Lawfull use by protestants, namely remove Idolatrous and superstitious institution and observation. (as when neither authority in that Irreligious way appoint or Injoyne these to be used, nor any is bound by a Com<sup>d</sup> and of the nature to observe them that which is necessary is now retayned and that w<sup>ch</sup> is Impious is removed.

7. Note y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is yet somwt [*illegible*] though it bee knowne notoriously, y<sup>t</sup> many who are in place of authority, doe in y<sup>r</sup> owne private opinions, put a holines in churches, yet becaus there is no publique Com<sup>d</sup>and, w<sup>ch</sup> Injoyne any particular man either by subscription, or any personall acte, to shew consent or approbation hereof, tis conceived not unlawfull for y<sup>e</sup> faithfull to Injoye y<sup>e</sup> benefitt of churches in y<sup>e</sup> Assemblies.

When y<sup>r</sup>fore it shall appeare by any evictinge argu<sup>mt</sup> y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Abuse hath so farre eaten into y<sup>e</sup> Civill use of y<sup>s</sup> Crosse in y<sup>e</sup> banner, that it cannot bee removed therefrom, and so this not used without sinn, I shall freely and willingly yelde y<sup>e</sup> Cause.

For y<sup>e</sup> meane time I desyre help and information in an arg<sup>mt</sup> or two, w<sup>ch</sup> yet Hinder mee that I can not clearly see, but y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> civill use of y<sup>s</sup> Crosse in y<sup>e</sup> banner may bee severed from y<sup>e</sup> Idolatrous abuse thereof : and in y<sup>t</sup> way and for that end may bee Lawfully retained :

1 Arg : If Names stated and Imposed for the Honour of Idolls, may yet bee used in a Civill way. Then ynges so abused may in like manner have like use :

For y<sup>e</sup> ground is y<sup>e</sup> same, names are Images of thinges, as well as any other artificiall thinges. When therefore they are equally abused about an Idoll they are equally for bidden : 23 exo. 13 23 Jose 7. and y<sup>r</sup>fore ought equally to be removed.

If y<sup>e</sup> one may bee used y<sup>n</sup> y<sup>e</sup> other may also.

But names so stated and abused for y<sup>e</sup> Honour of an Idoll may yet Lawfully bee used in a Civill way. 16 Rom. 1 : 1 Cor. 16. 12 : in w<sup>h</sup> paull makes use of y<sup>e</sup> Idolatrous names of Phoebe and Apollo. So yese ynges so abused may be used in a Civill way.

Ob. These Names tho : sinfully Imposed, yet being Imposed became of so necessary use, that yy could not bee changed : w<sup>th</sup> out disorder and confusion in y<sup>e</sup> way of Comon converse and comunion of men.

A. True yy were of necessary use being comonly and constantly received, and y<sup>t</sup> is it w<sup>h</sup> wee apprehend to bee y<sup>e</sup> Case in Hande, as hath beene expressed in y<sup>e</sup> explication of y<sup>e</sup> case prop. 5 :

And further ye necessity was no other, nor yet more if so much, as y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>h</sup> will appeare to bee of y<sup>e</sup> ynge now in controversy.

It was only a necessity of conveniens, in relatinge and usinge those names, to avoid trouble, disturbans and confusion : in dayly converse, some would have styled y<sup>m</sup> one way, others an other.

But here minde wee what breaches and heart burnings, hath y<sup>e</sup> attempted alteration of y<sup>s</sup> desighne caused amonge our selves : wt expectation, distaste and Hazards from other parts : and y<sup>e</sup> necessity of y<sup>s</sup> Ensigne at y<sup>e</sup> Sea : when wee send shippinge to our Country, or traffique w<sup>th</sup> other nations : as farre as I can heare is such y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> wante of it will in all likely hood hazard y<sup>e</sup> safety of y<sup>e</sup> vessells and Libertyes and lifes of yose y<sup>t</sup> saile in her :

In w<sup>h</sup> kind of necessity it may I thinke bee safely said, to bee more necessary in bells or churches. for yy may bee altered from any use in solemne assemblies w<sup>th</sup> out any such danger.

Againe had it not beene easy to a mans ordinary apprehension. For y<sup>e</sup> apost. to have otherwise described yese parties, or exprest from distaste at y<sup>t</sup> names for y<sup>e</sup> present, and advised a change and alteration amonge y<sup>e</sup> saintes, without any such Hazard as here is in present viewe.

Item It is true y<sup>t</sup> no man should for reason, impose y<sup>e</sup> name Apollo or Jupiter upon his childe, neither would y<sup>e</sup> Ap : so advise, as being of no necessary use so to doe, and y<sup>r</sup>fore contrary to a rule before mentioned, but being so Imposed and a necessary use beinge Involved upon it, unto w<sup>h</sup> it serves in a way of providence, wee see y<sup>e</sup> Apost. prescribes not y<sup>e</sup> Change, nor removall of it. The like wee may speake of y<sup>e</sup> Case in Hande.

But is not ys to give civill Honour to an Idoll contrary to y<sup>e</sup> 2d Com : and script. formelly alleged 23 exod. 16. Psal. w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> honour of a name is denied y<sup>m</sup>.

A. Certaine it is y<sup>e</sup> apost. did give no Honour to y<sup>e</sup> Idoll tho he used yese names in an honorable civill way of salutation and Comendation : 2 ynges yrfore as before are to bee considered and attended. 1. y<sup>e</sup> word Apollo is applyed as y<sup>e</sup> propper naime to a man for distinction and denomination sake, to answer to when called, and so to distinguish him from an other, and yus to retaine it, is to retaine a word in a lawfull way to a lawfull end civilly.

2. By y<sup>s</sup> to have y<sup>e</sup> mind carried up to an Idoll to expect preservation from it, or to bee stirred to afforde honor to it, y<sup>s</sup> is an Idolatrous and superstitious Course :

The former use is not to give civill Honour to an Idoll but to use a name lawfully, to serve a civill and Honorable end.

The like of y<sup>e</sup> Crosse in y<sup>e</sup> present Case, use it as one particular Ingredient to make up y<sup>e</sup> ensighne w<sup>h</sup> shall gather and guide troopes in y<sup>r</sup> marching, is to use an artificiall thinge to serve a way of gods providence.

But by vertue of any institution to expect protection from ys : or to doe any honour to ys is Idolatrous.

Againe herein I desyre som information. An ensighne is properly a 3d. thing arising and resultinge from y<sup>e</sup> paintinge of any figure and y<sup>e</sup> ynge so painted : so y<sup>t</sup> itt is a figurative speeche, to saye y<sup>e</sup> Crosse is y<sup>e</sup> ensighne, or y<sup>e</sup> cloth is y<sup>e</sup> ensighne : for it properly is a 3d thinge, arising from both, and appointed in y<sup>e</sup> place a sighne of authority callinge, comāding, gathering guiding : This sighne appointed to y<sup>s</sup> service is an Ensignhe :

Hence y<sup>e</sup> Ensignhe is sayd insigneire : by a metony : if y<sup>e</sup> adjunct because it shewes Honorable comānd. whereas y<sup>e</sup> Crosse serves to y<sup>s</sup> relation in parte : and is not It properly, and its worke is but servinge and helpinge : to make up yt w<sup>h</sup> does represent and signify, Honor or Honorable comānd. As take an other instance in y<sup>e</sup> same kind : Lett a board of a four square figure be lifted up for an Ensignhe, to saye y<sup>e</sup> board is an Ensignhe, or y<sup>e</sup> figure alone is an Ensignhe is not propper speech, but y<sup>t</sup> relation y<sup>t</sup> ariseth from both yese : It is not rationall to saye that wee honour the board or y<sup>e</sup> four square figure, but wee make both these serve to that w<sup>h</sup> is a sighne of Honour : and y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Honour lyes not or is not to bee attended in y<sup>e</sup> figure of y<sup>e</sup> crosse me thinkes that makes it more y<sup>n</sup> probable y<sup>t</sup> where y<sup>e</sup> Crosse is defaced and part of y<sup>e</sup> figures of y<sup>e</sup> ensighne torn away yet y<sup>e</sup> souldier is as ambitious of his ensighne to keepe it and y<sup>e</sup> enemy to get it as ever : wch shewes y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Crosse is not y<sup>e</sup> Ensignhe nor y<sup>e</sup> Honour to lye in y<sup>e</sup> figure of y<sup>e</sup> Crosse but in y<sup>e</sup> relation formerly mentioned w<sup>h</sup> is bore up by any part of yt w<sup>h</sup> ariseth from both.

2 arg. To use a worke of arte to serve a way of providence is lawfull, but to use y<sup>s</sup> Crosse in y<sup>e</sup> banner in a civile way, is to use y<sup>e</sup> worke of

arte Namely of painting and dying to serve military discipline a way of providence. rgo: yus to use it is Lawfull.

But happily it will be replied that y<sup>e</sup> Crosse which is y<sup>e</sup> effect of paintinge is only transversa figura or Thwart or Crosse line or figure: but this is Intended by them y<sup>t</sup> erect and use it to bee, signū crucis, a sighne of y<sup>t</sup> Crosse w<sup>ch</sup> did crucefy xt. and so a badge of our xtian religion:

To w<sup>h</sup> y<sup>e</sup> answer is by denying both y<sup>e</sup> particulars.

The civle use of y<sup>e</sup> Crosse in y<sup>e</sup> banner is here only attended, and disputed and yrfore to adde a religious use thereto, to make it a significant or sacramentall sighne to helpe on our hearts and apprehensions to a spirituall end, by a humane institution is to make y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Question which Indeed is not. Nor doe I know any that thinke it more lawfull to put such a signification upon it, y<sup>n</sup> to expect protection from it: besydes authority comānds it not so for ought I have heard nor does any captaine who is not popish use it in y<sup>t</sup> sence: he comānds his souldiers to follow y<sup>t</sup> ensighne or Colours: not to attend y<sup>m</sup> or to follow y<sup>m</sup> as a bodye of xtianes, or to have y<sup>r</sup> mindes and heartes taught or stirred by y<sup>m</sup> to religion: if any in authority have such a superstitious opinion of it: as long as y<sup>r</sup> is no publique Comānd y<sup>t</sup> Injoynes either Captaine or souldier by any personall acte to approve thereof or so to use it: but only to attend and take y<sup>e</sup> civle use y<sup>r</sup>of: y<sup>e</sup> practise may be lawfull, tho y<sup>e</sup> others opinion bee apparently false, as before was expressed in y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> proposition.

Lastly had it as a banner such an Institution and Imposition, I doe not yet see but it would prove as unlawfull (and so doe y<sup>e</sup> most pious and judicious conceive) to follow it as to erect it. For he y<sup>t</sup> follows a banner, so farre by that acte doth submitt himself y<sup>r</sup>unto, as to attende it and use it for y<sup>t</sup> end, for w<sup>ch</sup> as a banner it was erected. If y<sup>r</sup>fore as a banner it bee appointed, as a badge of religion to teach and stirre y<sup>e</sup> hearte, he y<sup>t</sup> submittes hereunto in y<sup>t</sup> name, subjects himself to bee taught and stirred in y<sup>t</sup> manner y<sup>r</sup>by.

To y<sup>e</sup> 2d part of y<sup>e</sup> reply:

It may also bee sayd y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Crosse, w<sup>ch</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> effect of paintinge is not transversa figura only, but signū Crucis also, only still y<sup>e</sup> sighne of a Crosse in a Civill way and for a civill end.

For signū here is as much as a simillitude, and resemblance of y<sup>e</sup> Crosse w<sup>h</sup> on xt was crucefyed, and it resembles it as Rem non ut sacram as Ames hath it in a like Case. It resembles y<sup>e</sup> Crosse as an artificial ynge: not as holy or for an holy end, as instance may bee given in y<sup>e</sup> like Kinde.

If it ware asked how doth a papist crosse himself, when he goes forth of his doores in y<sup>e</sup> morninge to y<sup>e</sup> worke of y<sup>e</sup> daye:

The party y<sup>t</sup> would describe his carriage drawes a Crosse line over

his breast and tells y<sup>e</sup> guise of y<sup>e</sup> papist : to make y<sup>e</sup> sighne of y<sup>e</sup> Crosse of xt : here is signum crucis used only by way of description of a popish carriage. as y<sup>e</sup> finis operis it operates doe abundantly testify : w<sup>ch</sup> notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> papist used for a spirituall and supernaturall end, and so unlawfully.

Ob. but y<sup>e</sup> first peice and originall was superstitious by Constantine, and if y<sup>e</sup> 1st frutes are unclean y<sup>n</sup> y<sup>e</sup> whole lump of y<sup>e</sup> following use is unclean.

A : bee it y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> first use of y<sup>e</sup> Crosse brought in by Constantine was Idolatrous and superstitious I should easily graunt y<sup>t</sup> all y<sup>e</sup> followinge use taken up upon y<sup>e</sup> same grounes for y<sup>e</sup> same ends is also sinfull :

But y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> civle use should y<sup>f</sup>ore bee unclean I suppose it will not follow, for it is none of y<sup>t</sup> kind or lump : unlesse it can be proved y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> civle and superstitious use cannot be separated again w<sup>n</sup> It is not Questioned whither y<sup>e</sup> Crosse be lawfully used in y<sup>e</sup> banners as a protection from enemies or a defence against dangers. I thence take it for graunted, y<sup>t</sup> so much of y<sup>e</sup> Idolatry is removed and why y<sup>e</sup> rest also may not bee removed I desyre to read or see a satisfactory reason. y<sup>e</sup> ynge havinge besydes both, y<sup>e</sup> necessary use in a way of providence.

3 : When it is cleared and graunted y<sup>t</sup> it was Constantines intention for y<sup>e</sup> Honour of y<sup>e</sup> Crosse to putt it into coines as well as ensignes, I confesse unfainedly I can not see, but by y<sup>e</sup> same rule it will be unlawfull in y<sup>e</sup> one as well as in y<sup>e</sup> other and y<sup>f</sup>ore w<sup>t</sup> more warrant men have in a way of trading to take and keepe coine w<sup>th</sup>out meltinge or at least defacinge y<sup>e</sup> Crosse, y<sup>n</sup> rather y<sup>n</sup> to refuse or not keepe an ensighne w<sup>th</sup>out expression of answerable dislike : I desire sum difference here to bee shewed for further satisfaction.

Ob : If y<sup>e</sup> eatinge of meat sacrificed unto Idolls in y<sup>e</sup> place where Idolls are worshipped : y<sup>t</sup> is in y<sup>e</sup> Idolls temple or chamber : doth hold forth communion w<sup>th</sup> Idolls and Idolaters : y<sup>n</sup> y<sup>e</sup> setting up of y<sup>e</sup> Crosse in y<sup>e</sup> place where it is worshipped of Idolaters : y<sup>t</sup> is in y<sup>e</sup> banners doth hold forth communion w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Crosse and Crosse worshipping forbidden 1 Cor. 10 : 18. 19. 20. 21.

A : The Cause why they y<sup>t</sup> did eate meates sacrificed to Idolls in y<sup>e</sup> place where they ware worshipped ware guilty of Idolatry, was not becaus of y<sup>e</sup> place in w<sup>ch</sup> yy did eate namely y<sup>e</sup> Temple : but because yy Joyned w<sup>th</sup> ym in y<sup>t</sup> acte of y<sup>r</sup> Idolatrous service, as it is abundantly cleare by all y<sup>e</sup> expressions, where y<sup>e</sup> practise is compared, to y<sup>e</sup> peoples eatinge of meat sacraficed at y<sup>e</sup> altar verse 18. The Table of Idolls and so of divles is compared w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> table of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and y<sup>e</sup> eating at y<sup>e</sup> one w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> eating and communicating at y<sup>e</sup> other.

So y<sup>t</sup> had a man eaten bread and dranke wine as comon and ordinary dyet, at a private table in som corner of ye temple, he could not y<sup>f</sup>ore be sayd to communicate at y<sup>e</sup> Lords table w<sup>r</sup> bread and wine ware sol-

emly sanctefyed, according to xts Institution: becaus tho he was in y<sup>e</sup> same place, he Joyned not w<sup>th</sup> ym in y<sup>e</sup> same service.

So that any Corinthian bought meat in y<sup>e</sup> shambles sacrificed to Idols and eaten it as ordinary diet at som private corner of y<sup>e</sup> temple he could not be sayd to co<sup>m</sup>municate at y<sup>e</sup> table of divles. So here tho papists and protestants use y<sup>s</sup> sighne y<sup>e</sup> one for a civill end only, y<sup>e</sup> other for an Idolatrous and superstitious, tho yy meek in y<sup>e</sup> same thinge yet not in y<sup>e</sup> same service, namely Idolatrous grounds and ends, w<sup>ch</sup> was y<sup>e</sup> cause of co<sup>m</sup>municatinge in Idolatry both in Corinth and here.

And our application of it to ends formerly mentioned, is as it ware, a degrading of y<sup>e</sup> Impious use and putting in to a co<sup>m</sup>on place where y<sup>e</sup> use of it is generally received to be civill only, by almost all writers In all y<sup>e</sup> churches of xt, and all states professing y<sup>e</sup> true faith of xt:

The same argument may be made against our churches and y<sup>e</sup> same answer will serve.<sup>1</sup>

The Papists worshippe god superstitiously and Idolatrously in churches.

Wee meet w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>r</sup> to worshippe and y<sup>r</sup>fore wee must also worshippe superstitiously.

Its plaine I suppose y<sup>e</sup> consequens deserves a deniall, becaus tho wee meet in y<sup>e</sup> same place and use y<sup>e</sup> same place w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>m</sup>, yet wee meet not in y<sup>e</sup> service.

They use it Idolatrously we civilly, for our more comfortable assemblinge.

Remarks were made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT, F. B. SANBORN, SAMUEL A. GREEN, CHARLES C. SMITH, ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, WORTHINGTON C. FORD, JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, and BARRETT WENDELL.

A new serial of the Proceedings, for January and February, was on the table.

<sup>1</sup> If any one is curious to read some of the arguments on the use of Roman Catholic churches and chapels by the Separatists, he will find good examples in Paget's "An Arrow against the Separation of the Brownistes" (1618), 130.

# MEMOIR

## OF

### JOHN ELLIOT SANFORD.

BY MORTON DEXTER.

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IN 1631 there landed at Boston one John Sanford. He was an Englishman from Alford in Lincolnshire. He remained in Boston for seven years. At the end of that period, having become a sympathizer with the views of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, he was obliged to leave the Bay Colony and went to Rhode Island. There he was one of the pioneer settlers of Portsmouth and became one of the colonial leaders. In addition to various minor offices, civil or military, he held, at the time of his death in 1653, that of President of the Portsmouth and Newport Colony. From him the subject of this sketch was descended.

During most of the intervening time the headquarters of the family has been the town of Berkley, Massachusetts, where Mr. Sanford's father was born, and in the successive generations its members have been eminent locally. It has been a representative New England family of the historic and familiar type.

Mr. Sanford was born on November 22, 1830, at South Dennis, Massachusetts, where his father, Rev. John Sanford, was pastor of the Congregational church from 1818 to 1838. When he was seven years old his father removed to Amherst, Massachusetts, largely in order to secure better educational opportunities for his children. The son grew up in circumstances of comfort and culture but not of wealth and including little of luxury. He prepared for college at Amherst Academy and at Williston Seminary, at Easthampton, entered Amherst College in 1847, and was graduated in due course in 1851. He was the valedictorian of his class and was a member of the Alpha Delta Phi Society.

Like so many other young graduates, he then taught for several years — including a tutorship at Amherst — while fitting himself for his chosen profession, the law. Finally he settled in Taunton, where his brother was head of the legal firm of Sanford and Morton, and resided there during the remainder of his life.

He was admitted to the bar in 1856. His high standard of duty, his judicial temperament, and the thoroughness of his scholarship guaranteed his professional success from the outset. He had the power of clear, logical statement in a high degree. He was the sort of lawyer whose appearance in behalf of a client creates an impression that his case is worthy. He was a man in whom it was felt natural and safe to repose confidence.

But it did not prove to be the legal profession, speaking strictly, in which he was to do the most and the best of his life-work. He believed strongly that good citizens ought to show their interest in the public welfare by taking part in politics, and in 1863 he was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives and in 1864 to the Senate. In 1866, the year in which the Insurance Commission was reorganized so as to consist of but one member, he was appointed to fill the position and held it for three years. In 1871 he was sent to the legislature again and was chosen Speaker of the House. In 1875, after four terms, he declined an offered re-election.

In 1876 he was the delegate from his district to the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati, which nominated General Rutherford B. Hayes for the Presidency. He was one of the Committee on Credentials, and the following extract from the report of the "Boston Herald" throws an interesting light upon the man himself and the value of his service:

This convention was the first at which the colored man was a power, and an element which proved troublesome. A member of the committee on credentials, in speaking on the early work of the convention, says:

"Of course, this was the first committee to get to work. There were several colored men on the committee, and they were bound to make up for lost time and to be heard. There were others on the committee from the South quite as fiery and untamed. It was the liveliest lot of politicians I ever came across. There were many contested cases, and they were contested as if the existence of the world depended upon the result. Unfortunately, we had for chairman one who evidently was



without experience in parliamentary methods and sadly lacking in force. The committee was a very large one, and was little more than a mob. There was no real organization. A dozen would try to speak at the same time, and it was confusion worse confounded. The colored men jumped up and down, fairly dancing in their wrath and shaking their fists in the faces of the other members. The chairman resigned his seat to another, but it did not mend matters, the substitute being as inexperienced as the other. Hours were passed in this way, it being little better than a bedlam. Men of mild manner were of no account. It was necessary to shout at the top of the voice to be heard.

"At length a quiet and composed gentleman succeeded in making himself heard for a moment. He had not spoken a dozen words before all the turbulence ceased, and he was master of the assembly. In a few plain words he correctly stated the proper relations of the question, and started matters in their proper groove.

"Things moved smoothly for awhile, but again a storm arose. After an unsuccessful attempt to quell it the chairman called the quiet gentleman to the chair. He retained the position throughout the sitting, and there was no more trouble. It was a remarkable instance of the power residing in a judicious and properly skilled presiding officer. Not having learned the gentleman's name, and being curious about it, I took an early opportunity after the adjournment to ask it of him, when he gave it as Mr. Sanford of Massachusetts. I at once recognized it as that of one of the most accomplished of the many famous men who have graced the speaker's chair in your Legislature."

In 1880 he also was a delegate to the Chicago Convention which nominated General Garfield. He was in favor of Senator Edmunds originally and seconded his nomination before the convention.

In 1882 he was appointed chairman of the Harbor and Land Commission of this State and held office for ten years. In 1892 he was transferred to the Railroad Commission and was made its chairman, serving thus until 1899. In these seven years he did what apparently was his most valuable official work. During the period of his administration some important matters, involving large interests and causing strong feeling, had to be adjusted. The present South Station in Boston was built, the Tremont Street Subway was constructed and leased to the West End Street Railway Company, and the property of this company was taken over by the Boston Elevated Railway Company, vital modifications of the lease in the public interest being inserted by the Commission, chiefly

because Mr. Sanford insisted upon them. He had much to do with the rapid and useful development of electric street railways, which began while he was in office, and some of his proposals relating to the management of steam railroads have been adopted. He raised the annual reports of the Commission from the usual level of dry statements of facts, largely statistical, to that of interesting and suggestive explanations and discussions. They have been demanded, and quoted freely, in other parts of our own country and even abroad.

When he retired from the Railroad Commission, in 1899, he had served the public nearly the whole time for thirty-six years, and had given it service which for conscientiousness, ability, and fruitfulness seldom has been surpassed.

During the remaining eight years of his life, — he died on October 11, 1907, — he resided at his home in Taunton, visiting Europe nearly every summer and enjoying the comparative rest which he had fairly earned. But he never was allowed to free himself wholly from the responsibilities of a citizen. In local matters of any consequence he usually was consulted, and, so far as he would permit, was given leadership. In his earlier years he had served his city upon the school committee, the board of aldermen and the common council, and up to the time of his death he was president or director of several banks or corporations and a member of important commissions.

He was identified as a vestryman and communicant with St. Thomas Church in Taunton, and was the president of the Episcopalian Club of this State in 1893 and 1894.

He was one of the most loyal graduates of Amherst College and was president of its Board of Trustees from 1874 until his death, devoting much time to the promotion of its welfare, especially in connection with its finances. He founded a scholarship in it for the benefit of needy students. He received the degree of Doctor of Laws from the college in 1896.

He was elected to this Society in January, 1884, and took a sincere interest in all its doings. But he rarely, if ever, attended its meetings. His absence was due to the incessant and compelling demands upon his time during the earlier years of his membership, and, after his retirement from official life, to gradually increasing deafness. In 1891 he furnished for its proceedings a memoir of our former associate Rev. Henry

M. Dexter, D.D., LL.D., but this was his only contribution. He also belonged to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and in 1870 he was elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society of London. He was the first man on this side of the Atlantic to be honored thus, and up to the time of his death the Society had only five other associates in the United States.

Mr. Sanford was a man of serious temperament and was dignified and courtly in manner. He was naturally reserved yet was cordial and genial. He had pronounced convictions and strong feelings and was capable of extreme indignation, but he exhibited a great power of self-control. He took large, discriminating views of life and treated others with a tolerance and charity which he never asked for himself. He was conspicuously fair and just. He would have made an admirable judge. He seldom failed to retain the personal respect and liking of those from whom he felt obliged to differ. After his death a man eminent in the management of great railroads said of him: "I had occasion to appear before the Railroad Commission several times while he was its chairman, and, although I did not always get what I wanted, and found him inflexible when he had made up his mind, he was so courteous and so willing to hear and weigh everything that could be said on all sides of any case that I learned to feel for him a very high regard."

Mr. Sanford had the utmost distaste for all attempts to push one's self into publicity and shrank from active effort to promote his own interests politically, although few men could be more determined in any conflict involving the public good. At least once he was offered an unopposed nomination for Congress by the Republicans of his district, which he felt unable to accept, and his name was proposed informally more than once in connection with the governorship of this State.

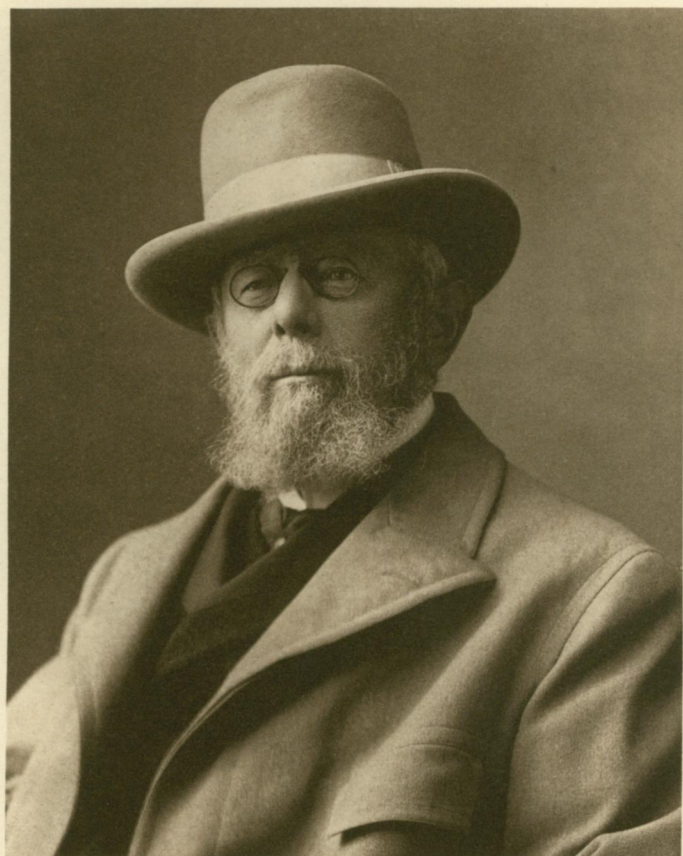
He was generous in his benefactions, but no one else ever knew the extent of his benevolence. His chief recreation was horticulture. He gave as much time as he could spare to the cultivation of the trees and plants upon his estate and seemed to know every one of them intimately.

He was married in 1856 to Emily James White, of Taunton, who died in 1899. He left three daughters. No more fitting words can end this outline of his character and career than the

following, taken from a tribute to him in the Taunton Daily Gazette of October 12, 1907, the day after his death :

It is probable that no other citizen of Taunton was ever called to undertake more varied duties, and certain that all his work as a citizen, an official, a husband, father, Christian and friend was well done. A city is fortunate to have had such a citizen. . . .

No greater legacy was left to his children than that all his varied successes and honors came not through political manipulation and trickery, time-serving and trading honest manhood for position, but because integrity, ability, faithfulness, dignity, and courtesy won them.



*C. H. Dalton.*

MEMOIR  
OF  
CHARLES HENRY DALTON.  
By ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

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CHARLES HENRY DALTON was born at Chelmsford, Massachusetts, September 25, 1826, the third of eight children of John Call Dalton and Julia Ann Spalding. On both sides he was descended from families whose history is intimately connected with the early growth and development of New England.

His great-grandfather, James Dalton, who was born in 1718, was the first of his family to settle in Boston. Whether or not he was descended from the Daltons who emigrated to this country in 1635, and whose principal home in the seventeenth century was at Hampton, New Hampshire, I have been unable to discover: the probabilities on the whole seem to point in this direction. From his early youth James Dalton was engaged in seafaring pursuits. In 1740 he was commander of the brigantine "Joshua," trading from Boston to London, and later became the owner of various vessels, voyaging along the coast to the Carolinas, West Indies, and sometimes to Europe. In 1756 he purchased an estate in Boston on the south side of Water Street, which contained a tanyard, garden, dwelling-house, and other buildings. These he pulled down and in 1758 built upon the property a Mansion House<sup>1</sup> which was occupied by himself and family during the remainder of his life and afterwards by his son, Peter Roe Dalton. After the "great fire" of 1760, when this part of the town was rebuilt, a committee of the General Court ordered a new street, running from Milk to Water Street, to be laid out through

<sup>1</sup> A picture of this Mansion House forms the central portion of Mr. Charles H. Dalton's book-plate, designed in 1903.

the estate in such a way as to divide it very unequally and render the smaller part unavailable for building purposes. A memorial addressed by Captain Dalton to the General Court resulted in moving the site of the proposed street further west, so that it divided the estate more equally, and in consideration of this Captain Dalton agreed not to require any compensation for the portion of his land occupied by the new street, which was known as "Dalton's Lane" and "Dalton's Street" until the year 1800, when its name was changed to Congress Street.

Captain Dalton was one of the proprietors of King's Chapel at the time of its rebuilding, and owned at various times pews 26, 40, 53, 58, and 98. He married January 24, 1740, Abigail, daughter of Peter Roe, a resident of Boston, and widow of Judah Alden. He died April 21, 1783. He is described as "prudent, but energetic and successful in business, persevering, liberal and public-spirited, courteous to his associates, and of a kindly disposition."

Of his ten children the second (and oldest son), Peter Roe Dalton, was born in 1743 and died in 1811. In his youth he followed his father's calling and went to sea. The similarity between his character, tastes, and career and those of his grandson, the subject of this memoir, is too striking to be passed over without comment. During the American Revolution he was Deputy Commissary-General of Issues in the Continental service, receiving and distributing provisions of all kinds to the troops stationed at Boston, to the prisoners of war confined in the harbor, and to the French fleet under the Count d'Estaing. In 1782 he was appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts one of a committee to settle the accounts of the Board of War of that State, and to examine and certify all claims against the State arising from losses in the Penobscot expedition of 1779. He was connected with several financial and commercial organizations in Boston, and frequently acted as executor and administrator. He is described as "a man of great activity and devotion to business, and capable of managing large interests. He was prompt to detect and thwart any attempt at gaining undue advantage and decided, though polite in his manner of doing so. He was fond of generous living, and accustomed to make ample provision for his bodily comfort, but was never excessive in

any personal indulgence." *Mutatis mutandis*, this portrait, both of character and occupations, will be found to fit his grandson equally well.

Peter Roe Dalton was twice married. His first wife, Susannah Griggs, bore him four children, of whom one, a daughter, survived; his second, Anne Call, bore him eleven, of whom the tenth was the father of the subject of this memoir. John Call Dalton's distinguished career as a physician in Chelmsford, Lowell, and Boston, and in the Civil War does not need description here. Suffice it to say that he was the ideal doctor of the old school, of the days before the practice of medicine had become highly specialized, and one who was able by his sterling character as well as his professional attainments to render priceless service to the community where he lived.

Mr. Dalton's maternal ancestors were a race of farmers. Edward Spalding (or Spaulding, as the name was then spelt) came to America in the earliest years of the Massachusetts Colony, probably between 1630 and 1633. After a brief residence at Braintree, he went to Chelmsford at the time of the first settlement of that town, and at the first town-meeting, September 22, 1654, was chosen one of the selectmen. Seven generations of his descendants lived at Chelmsford, cultivating and increasing the land which was granted to their ancestor, yeomen all, and servants of the town, colony, state, and church at various occasions and in various ways. By all odds the most distinguished member of the family was Simeon Spalding (1713-1785), the fourth in descent from Edward, and the great-grandfather of Charles H. Dalton. His most notable services were rendered in connection with the American Revolution. In 1770 he was chosen representative of his town "at a Great and General Court and Assembly appointed to be convened, held and kept for his Majesty's service at Harvard College"; and again in 1773, 1774, 1775, and 1776. In February, 1776, he was commissioned colonel of the Seventh Regiment of Provincial Militia, and in 1779 delegate to the Convention for framing a Constitution of Government for the State of Massachusetts Bay. These and many other minor offices attest his prominence in the public service in this first great crisis of our national existence.

Such were the high traditions and noble inheritance of



Charles H. Dalton. By a long and active life of service and good citizenship he was to prove himself worthy of them.

The first five years of Mr. Dalton's life were spent for the most part at Chelmsford, until his father's removal to Lowell in 1831. The only incident of this period of which there is any record is his first journey to Boston in 1827 at the age of one, made by the then famous Middlesex Canal, which was first open for traffic in 1803, only to be superseded, some thirty years later, by the Boston and Lowell Railroad. Mr. Dalton used to be fond of pointing out, as a unique illustration of the radical changes in the methods of transportation that have been witnessed in New England in the past seventy years, that this canal trip landed him in Haymarket Square on precisely the spot now occupied by one of the stations of the subway to whose construction he devoted so much care and labor in his later life. His boyhood and early youth were spent in Chelmsford and Lowell; he was a pupil at the common school at Chelmsford, and at the Lowell High School before the year 1844, after which he was sent to a boarding school at Medford; but of college education he had none. It was a source of the deepest regret to him in later life that he never went to Harvard. An honest fear that he might not be able to equal the brilliant record there of his elder brother John, who graduated in 1844, was perhaps the chief reason why he decided not to go. Great and genuine modesty in regard to his intellectual attainments was ever one of his most prominent traits.

Mr. Dalton entered upon his long and successful business career as a salesman in the firm of R. A. Crafts and Company certainly not later than the year 1848. This firm was engaged in the manufacture of gingham and mousseline-de-laines and its mills were in Taunton; but Mr. Dalton, to judge from the Boston Directory of 1848-1849, was employed in the Boston office, which was located at 49 Milk Street. In the year 1849 he was transferred to the commission house of Sayles, Merriam, and Brewer, selling agents for some of the largest factories in New England. His first important service to this firm was rendered in the settlement of a strike among the operatives of the Hamilton Woollen Company at Southbridge, a task which he accomplished so successfully that he was soon put in

charge as manager there, and continued to reside for the most part at Globe Village, a part of Southbridge, during the next five years.

Fragments of a correspondence between Mr. Dalton and the firm that employed him at this time have been preserved, and are interesting as showing that he inherited all his grandfather's ability "to detect and thwart any attempt at gaining undue advantage," and was "decided, though polite, in his manner of doing so." In January, 1851, it was proposed that he should visit England for three months in order to inform himself concerning the factories and manufacturing methods there: his firm, however, desired him before his departure to engage positively to remain with them five years longer, but attempted at the same time to reserve to themselves the privilege of terminating the connection at any moment, and hinted that if Mr. Dalton was unable to fall in with their plans, they should be obliged to find another to fill his place. To this proposal Mr. Dalton wrote a decided though courteous letter of objection, pointing out the unfairness of the terms and desiring a more equitable arrangement. The precise nature of the settlement of this difference of opinion is not apparent, but it is clear that Mr. Dalton's views prevailed, for he sailed for Europe in less than a month in the employ of the firm, but terminated his connection with it, of his own volition, in the latter part of 1853, before the five years had elapsed.

His first impressions of England are interestingly recounted in a letter to his father, dated from Manchester, March 13, 1851:

I have been into various parts of the west of England, through the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Chester and Derbyshire. Everywhere the country is beautiful, highly cultivated, not an inch of ground wasted, the roads fifty miles from Manchester as clear and smooth as Boston streets. The only objection to them is that about every two miles there is a toll bar where it is necessary to pay tribute. . . . Last night I went to a dinner party about five miles from Manchester at Mr. H——'s, the partner of Miss P——'s friend. Hope Hall is the name of the house. The style of these things here is quiet and dignified, elegant in all parts. To me thus far, they have been pleasant because they are somewhat of a novelty, but I should think the gentlemen would get weary of them. I arrived at about five minutes before 6.30 (the dining hour stated on the card) and was relieved of my coat and hat

by one servant in livery, straw colored small clothes, white neck handkerchief, etc., and announced by another who evidently knew my name beforehand. Three or four guests had arrived before me and in five minutes all had come, making a party of about twenty. I being the only stranger, Mr. H—— asked me to take Mrs. H—— to the table when dinner was announced and to take a seat on her right; the other guests were arranged without fuss; and down we went, about six servants in livery being at the foot of the dining room, as solemn and stiff and to me, a little fantastic, as a drum major. The room was rather bare of furniture and ornament but the heavy drapery and large dining chairs made it look comfortable enough. The courses lasted, I should think, about two hours, when the ladies left and the gentlemen clustered around one end of the board and talked and drank, eight or nine of us, keeping about as many decanters running the gauntlet for an hour longer. We then followed the ladies, had tea, and a very little execution by the Misses H—— on harp and piano. At ten precisely, "Your fly, Sir," was announced to three or four of us and as regularly and quietly as clock work, we took our leave. . . .

England is a fine place to live in if one is rich, but Heaven help the poor. I have got so accustomed to the beggars of all degrees and ages that they make no impression at the moment. Yesterday I passed a family of six or eight, mostly females, and though I was cold with a thick top coat and shawl, and it was raining at the time, not more than half their bodies were covered with anything. There is misery and degradation in this city among the factory classes which is not dreamed of in Lowell, and many a person may tour it through England without seeing much which places it infinitely below America in point of respectability. The hospitality and good manners and elegant, stylish mode of living of the rich is pleasant to their guests, but the misery, heart sickening to look upon in some of the crowded streets of Manchester, is fully strong enough in contrast. On a Saturday afternoon, after the hands are paid off, I have been among the gin-shops, which are on every corner, with a living stream going in and out, young girls and boys, men and women. England is n't all a palace, nor will average so near it as America.

Within three years after his return from England Mr. Dalton became a partner of the selling house of J. C. Howe and Company, and as such was chiefly occupied from 1854 to 1859 with management and rebuilding of the Print Works at Manchester, New Hampshire. He was perhaps more closely identified with this business than with any other in which he was ever engaged. In it he displayed to the full that remarkable capacity for organization and administration which characterized

him to the day of his death, and his energy, integrity, and skill were rewarded with marked success on every hand. The time, however, was near when he was to have the opportunity to employ these talents in another field. The first and perhaps the most notable of the many public services which it was the good fortune of Mr. Dalton to render and which later made his name almost a byword for public spirit and good citizenship in the community was in connection with the Civil War.

Like all the bravest and best of his day and generation, Mr. Dalton's attention became more and more closely focussed on the great national crisis, which loomed ever larger on the political horizon in the autumn of 1860 and the spring of 1861. An ardent Northerner, he did not underestimate (at least not as gravely as did most men) the power of the southern Confederacy, and was deeply convinced from the first that it would be necessary to put down any resistance by force of arms. The first occasion on which he offered his services to his country was in connection with the inauguration of Lincoln in March, 1861. He wrote at least twice to the authorities at Washington to ask if his presence on that occasion might not be desirable as a means of helping quell a disturbance, should such occur. Answered in the negative, he abandoned his intention of immediately repairing to the capital, but the news of the firing on Sumter which followed in April made him resolve once more to put himself at his country's service. On May 20, 1861, he accepted an appointment from Governor Andrew to act as Agent of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at Washington, whither he at once repaired, and remained (save for occasional visits to the North at moments of comparative leisure) until January, 1862. On September 27, 1861, he received another mark of Governor Andrew's confidence by his promotion to the post of assistant quartermaster-general of the militia of the Commonwealth (the appointment to date from May 23), and the following day he was commissioned with the rank of colonel.

The duties of his position in Washington are best described by the following extracts from the letter of instructions which was sent him by the Massachusetts authorities the day after his first appointment:

All supplies for our troops forwarded to Washington will be sent to your care and the vessels when the supplies are sent by water will be consigned to you. You will attend to the disposal and distribution, or storage of the supplies, according to directions sent you, or to the best of your judgment in the absence of specific directions. You will communicate with the proper departments of the U. S. Government in relation to stores sold, or troops carried, or any transport service, and see that all proper allowances are made, and all bills settled either by payment, or by being put in a shape, as to vouchers and allowance, to require no adjustment hereafter.

You will communicate with the Colonels, Quarter Masters, and commanding officers of the Mass'tts troops, and everything wanted by them will be received through you, and all requisitions and requests for supplies must be transmitted by them through you, with proper explanations, when you have not the means or authority to supply them. You will look up as far as possible and take charge of, any Massachusetts supplies, stores or equipments that have heretofore gone astray, and if they have gone into possession of U. S. officers recover them or procure payment or vouchers therefor.

You will also transact any business for the State with any of the Departments. You will have a room where you or some clerk will constantly be found, to receive messages by telegraph or otherwise, and to transact any necessary business.

You will keep an account of all expenses and report as nearly daily as practicable all your doings. You can employ a clerk *if necessary* and your reasonable and proper expenses with a proper compensation for your services will be paid by the State.

You will doubtless want a copying press. If you have occasion to procure storage, you may be able to make arrangements with some competent and responsible person who will deliver on your order.

The object of the whole arrangement is to have some one responsible and competent agent, who will know all that is done and sent from Massachusetts, and all that is wanted and received at Washington, or by the troops wherever stationed, to take care of property, take vouchers, prevent waste, and be the sole channel or communication between supply and demand. This agent you are to be until some further arrangement.

It was a position closely resembling that occupied by his grandfather at the time of the Revolution — a position for which he was pre-eminently fitted by character, ability, previous training, and inheritance.

To enumerate in detail the almost infinite variety of the tasks that were laid upon Mr. Dalton during the busy eight

months of this first stay in Washington would be tedious and unprofitable. They all required shrewd judgment, untiring energy, patience, and good temper. Reconciliation of the conflicting views of state and federal officials, rectification of justifiable grievances and soothing the makers of groundless complaints, providing for the care of the sick and wounded and settling the details of soldiers' enlistment, pay and pensions — all these formed part of his manifold duties. A few examples drawn from his correspondence will perhaps serve to make the picture clear. He had scarcely got established at Washington when an urgent letter from the military secretary of the Commonwealth arrived, directing him to represent to Secretary Cameron "the miserable state of the coast defences of Massachusetts, and more particularly of the Harbor and city of Boston." The language of the epistle is noteworthy:

The mere statement of the fact that in all Fort Warren there is only one gun, and that in Fort Independence there are only a few barbette guns and no casemate-guns mounted, and that these constitute the entire defence provided by the Federal Government for the second city of the Union in commercial importance, ought to be sufficient, it would seem, to secure immediate attention. But when to this is added the fact that the less reasonable requests made from certain other sections of the country seem to meet with a prompt hearing, and a ready compliance, it becomes difficult to understand why the delay in attending to the defenceless condition of Boston Harbor is not a grievous injustice to our people, and we have yet to learn that Massachusetts has (either by what she has done or left undone of late, or ever), afforded any pretext for the Federal Government to neglect her representations and requests. It does indeed, appear at times, as if we should speak to a more willing ear, if we were not so unanimous in our loyalty and if the Federal administration did not count so surely always upon the contribution of blood and treasure we are glad to make for the common cause.

About all we ask in respect to the Forts in Boston Harbor and along our coast is that guns which are now lying useless at Watertown and Charlestown and Chicopee and elsewhere, shall be transferred to them and mounted. They will be just as much the property and under the immediate control of the United States in the Forts, as where they are now lying; more so, because if it should become absolutely necessary to remove them, they would then be at spots on tidewater, where they could promptly be transferred to shipboard. For instance there are, and have been for many years, lying at the Foundry of Messrs. Ames at Chicopee, three 12 lb. brass guns and the same number of 12 lb. brass howitzers,

belonging to the United States, which were accepted and paid for, long ago. It would be a great convenience and a great relief if these guns, instead of lying useless stored away in a town a hundred miles away from the sea-board, could be brought down to Salem or New Bedford or Gloucester or Provincetown, all exposed points of great commercial importance, which are lying at this moment at the mercy of any privateer which may have the boldness to swoop down upon them.

But in the instance of Boston the neglect not only to do anything, but even to assign reasons for withholding action in respect to the Forts, is to us perfectly unaccountable upon any theory creditable to the patriotism and energy of those officials having the matter in charge.

With considerable difficulty, and after some delay, Mr. Dalton obtained access to Secretary Cameron, persuaded him to move the guns as requested, and received the Secretary's promise to send an armed vessel to Nantucket immediately.

A curious matter occupied his attention from the 22d to the 24th of August. A company of Massachusetts troops raised in Cambridge by a certain Captain Burgess, had been induced, by false representations, to leave the State and to attach themselves to the Fifth Regiment of the so-called Sickles Brigade in New York — thereby depriving their families of the monthly bounty of three to twelve dollars per man, recently provided for in an extra session of the Massachusetts Legislature. A prolonged correspondence between the governors of Massachusetts and New York on the subject had not availed to secure the return of these troops to a Massachusetts regiment, and the matter was finally referred to Mr. Dalton at Washington with orders to lay it before the Secretary of War. Despite the sturdy opposition of Sickles, Mr. Dalton accomplished his task in two days, and on August 24 was able to send to Governor Andrew an order for the transfer of the Burgess Company to any Massachusetts regiment he might select. The way in which he brought this about may be judged from the contents of the two following letters. To Governor Andrew he writes:

I went out to see Burgess yesterday, found him ill, but his command in good condition, so far as a company, so badly placed, could be. Was satisfied it wd. be hard for it to remain in its present position. Had a talk with Sickles, & believe he wd. oppose any change, therefore urged the matter to a final conclusion, with Secy. War this morning, before Sickles had time to make it more difficult. I *did* so settle it, in con-

formity with your instructions, and therefore wd. not advise that any further change be asked for, as it is by no means easy to get the Dept. to take hold of such a delicate matter.

And to a private friend:

In the morning, I had a hard job at War Dept. namely, to get a Mass. company now in a New York Rgt. commanded by . . . Sickles, transferred to a Mass. Rgt. He was determined the transfer should not be made, and I concluded to try metal with him, and succeeded in getting just what I wanted, which pleased me.

Another matter in which Mr. Dalton took a vigorous part was the question of the re-enlistment for three years of a large number of Massachusetts troops, who, believing that the war would be speedily brought to a close, had originally volunteered for but three months. Many of the authorities at Washington desired to retain the three months men in the three year regiments which had already been formed at the capital, instead of giving them an opportunity to return home, be regularly discharged, and re-enlisted as State troops. To this course Mr. Dalton was strongly opposed. In a letter to Governor Andrew of June 22, 1861, he wrote:

In regard to re-enlisting the 3 mos. men *here*, in 3-year Rgts. my opinion is that there will be many difficulties, and that by so doing or trying to do, we shall fail to secure many of the best. As all the world knows, these Rgts. left home suddenly, their private affairs unattended to, the majority imperfectly prepared for so long a stay as even 3 mos. Cameron, Thomas, & Mansfield all see the importance of securing these men for 3 years, or as large a proportion of them as possible. . . .

It therefore seems to me most desirable that the Regt. be ordered home soon after 4th July, be mustered out, and paid, then the men re-enlisted so far as possible. These remarks apply, generally, to our other 3 mos. men.

These views were re-echoed in Governor Andrew's reply of June 29, and after prolonged interviews at the War Department and at headquarters, Mr. Dalton made his point and was able to telegraph home on that same day: "Scott, Cameron, Thomas, Wilson all agree that 3-mos. Regts. shd. go home soon and men be re-enlisted for three years there."

Of all this busy eight months in Washington, the busiest



week of all was undoubtedly that succeeding the disaster at Bull Run. Mr. Dalton's correspondence doubles in quantity at this crisis, every line of it breathes cheerfulness and calmness in defeat, but at the same time feverish energy and a stern determination to make good lost ground. Some of his accounts of the battle are interesting. To Governor Andrew, under the date of July 24, 1861, the Wednesday after the fight, he writes :

The disaster to our soldiers is less than was feared. It is that the missing will amount to 6 to 800, all told. The loss of material is insignificant in value, with the exception of am'tion wh. is large. The accounts of Sunday's fight amount to this ; our troops were marched 3 to 5 hours, after a slight breakfast, and were at once fought against fresh troops, protected by batteries and trenches, on a difficult ground, the enemy more than double in numbers. For 3 or 4 hours our troops drove back the rebels, 'till, at 4 o'ck. from a causeless, or rather utterly unnecessary reason, the entire army, in a few minutes was panic-stricken. The rout was described as fearful in the extreme. That the enemy were equally taken by surprise by this movement appears from the fact that no attempt was made to follow our flying army, otherwise it wd. have been finished and Davis wd. to-day have been in the White House. He is, however, the other side of the Union Entrenchments, the only side he will ever see.

And to a friend :

The Govt. is exerting itself to the utmost to repair the terrible blunder of Sunday morning, that beautiful day to some of us. While we were so pleasantly going up the mountain side, our troops were just going into a fight, after a march of 10 miles, and kept at this work, without any intermission for 4, 5 and 6 hours, with nothing to eat, against fresh troops, protected by their entrenchments and batteries, and more than double in n<sup>os</sup>. Still inch by inch we drove them back, when, by some unaccountable misfortune, an utterly unexpected and incomprehensible panic ran through Regt. after Regt. so that the retreat was general, in a few minutes. The enemy was equally astonished, for they made no attempt to follow, or Washington wd. have been taken and Davis wd. have been in the White House to-day ! . . . 'T is sad, oh very sad, yet no hesitation for a moment must be allowed. We must and shall have an army of 100,000 men ready to attack the enemy shortly, and redeem this humiliating blunder.

His words were justified by the event. The second uprising of the North in early August swept all resistance before

it. Even at Washington, where there were "too many play people to suit him," as Mr. Dalton once complained, the activity was tremendous. Two weeks later he wrote to a friend at home :

You should see the energy and vigor with which the work is done. Our Govt. is worth fighting for, 't is it or *long years of misery*. Elegance is out of the question when the solemn fact stares us in the face of having our lives and homes safe, or at the mercy of a few bad, ambitious, faithless men. 'T is a fight for manhood, and if we fail, which we *shall not*, the happiness of long years is *gone*, past help.

Busy and useful as he was in Washington, however, Mr. Dalton was chafing at every moment to get away. He disliked the city intensely ; the calls of his business and private affairs were imperative, and twice during the summer and autumn of 1861 he was obliged to ask leave of Governor Andrew to come home to the North to attend to them. On both of these occasions the stress of events at the capital caused him to return much sooner than he had intended, but with the beginning of 1862, when things had got into running order, his residence at Washington was much more frequently interrupted. In the early months of this year he paid many visits to his brother Edward, who, having been commissioned by the State of New York as surgeon to the Thirty-sixth New York Volunteers in November, 1861, had at once joined his command, and accompanied it in the forward movement of the army in March, 1862, and through the Peninsular campaign until June, when he was attacked by malarial fever and forced to return to the North.

It was perhaps these continual visits to the front that made Mr. Dalton long for a taste of real fighting and suggested his application, in March, 1862, for the post of staff officer to General Frémont. "I shall see him and try to learn his plans," he wrote to a friend, "and, after frankly confessing my ignorance of military matters, ask him if such as I can be of *real use* on his staff, and if he is going to *do* anything and wants me, I shall want to go. . . . The more I learn of his command, the more I hanker for it, for then 't will be brisk campaigning and not lying in camp, which would worry me to death, it seems to me." Several unsatisfactory interviews with the General convinced him, however, that he stood no

chance of getting this appointment, and his failure here really marks the end of the period of his greatest activity in connection with the Civil War. From that time onward he was often in Washington on special business connected with the government, sometimes at the front, visiting his brother, and once on board the "Monitor" (April 19, 1862, just six weeks after its fight with the "Merrimack"), of which he wrote home the following interesting description:

Yesterday morning some of us took a ship's boat with a crew and went up to the "Monitor" which is stationed up above the Fortress, so as to command a view of any movement of the "Merrimack" should she appear around Sewell's point, about three-fourths of a mile from where we lay at anchor. All the large ships, steamers, gunboats with a large flotilla of transports and supply vessels lay down below the Fortress, a mile and a half from the "Monitor," to be out of the way of any surprise, but the armed vessels all having steam up night and day, and constantly on the watch should a signal come for them to go up to help the "Monitor." We went on board the "M," and all through her, and I was utterly amazed to find her such a solid, strong and apparently invulnerable machine. She was well battered in the engagement, the two craft being only 3 yards apart during some of the time, so that their guns nearly *touched*! But no harm came to the little rascal which has saved this country from an awful defeat. The officers seem entirely confident that the "Merrimack" can in no way injure her, either by running her down or by the heaviest guns they can bring at her. She is certainly a splendid success, and as I say, apparently impenetrable, but I guess a pretty hot box to be in during an engagement of four hours. . . . Later in the P. M. we went down into the fleet, passing the large steamer "Vanderbilt" and others which are lying here to run down the "Merrimack," and went on board the "Minnesota," a noble Navy vessel, with 600 men and officers on board. She was attacked by the "Merrimack" during the Sunday engagement, and could not get away nor defend herself, having got aground, and she carried the marks of the shots from the "Merrimack" in many places. Had she not been saved from a second attack by the "Monitor's" most fortunate arrival, she too, would have been utterly destroyed. We left the "Minnesota" about 6 o'clock P. M. to go up to our "Saxon" and just then, heavy firing commenced between the battery of large guns on Rip Raps, opposite the Fortress, — *our* guns — and the Rebel battery on Sewell's point, which is up towards Norfolk — 3 miles off. The heavy shell would *hum* through the air and then burst with a low dull sound among the trees on Sewell's point where the Rebel battery is concealed. This firing was kept up till dark, one of our gun boats run-

ning up and opening her guns on the Rebels also. You see from this diary what interests are concentrated around this-spot — the most intense and momentous of any in the world to-day. The French War steamer and two English ones lie here, also; one of the English away up above the "Monitor," where 't is not safe for a Federal vessel to be, as she is in sight from the Rebel lookouts at Norfolk. All last night we were unloading shells into two boats at our side, but today the wind has come on to blow and the roads are so rough that nothing can lie along side, so we are delayed.

After the occasion described in this letter, there is no record of his being at Washington or at the front until more than a year afterwards, and then only for the briefest period. His appointment, 27 May, 1862, as quartermaster of the Fourth Battalion of Infantry in the First Brigade, First Division of the Militia of the Commonwealth, with the rank of first lieutenant — an office the duties of which could be for the most part performed at home — is additional evidence that thereafter he remained, for the most part, in the North. The only other official position which he held in connection with the Civil War, namely, membership in a Massachusetts Board of Recruitment, appointed July 14, 1864, by Governor Andrew under an Act of Congress of the same year to supervise the recruitment of volunteers to the credit of Massachusetts from the Rebel States, did not apparently involve any prolonged or arduous labors. His marriage to Miss Mary McGregor of Boston occurred on 25 June, 1862, directly after his permanent return to the North.

The years 1862-70 were spent by Mr. and Mrs. Dalton for the most part in Boston, where they resided at first at 59 Hancock Street, and later at 33 Commonwealth Avenue. Before 1865 they spent their summers at the old Spalding homestead in Chelmsford, but in that year they established themselves permanently at Beverly Farms. They were in Europe for a year in 1866-67, where Mr. Dalton acted as one of the agents of the Commonwealth at the Universal Exposition at Paris, charged with the special function of "furnishing to Massachusetts citizens desirous of exhibiting their industrial products at the said Exposition the requisite information and facilities." During all this period up to 1870, Mr. Dalton remained a partner of the firm of J. C. Howe and Company. As such he was

employed for the most part in Boston, but he also continued frequently to visit the Print Works at Manchester, where he was instrumental in the prevention of a dangerous strike in July, 1863. But even in this, perhaps the most retired and concentrated portion of his life, his zeal for the public service did not slacken. Besides continuing to lend a helping hand in connection with the Civil War, the early sixties saw him exceedingly active in promoting the organization of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, of which he was one of the charter members and Treasurer for four years from May 6, 1862. He remained a member of the Institute Corporation till 1879, and was re-elected to it sixteen years later, but declined to serve. A close friend and admirer of President Walker, he maintained a lively interest in the Institute long after his official connection with it was severed. In 1896 he established "The Dalton Graduate Chemical Scholarship Fund" of \$5000, the income to be used "for the payment of fees of American male students, graduates of the Institute, who may wish to pursue advanced chemical study and research, especially applicable to textile industries."

The next two decades saw Mr. Dalton at the height of his long and prosperous business career. Though he had terminated his connection with J. C. Howe and Company in 1870, his intimate knowledge of the Print Works at Manchester resulted in his appointment as treasurer *pro tem.* during their reorganization in 1873. In the early seventies he was for a brief time president of the Consolidated Coal Company of Maryland, in the interest of J. M. Forbes (with whom he had had many dealings in regard to the transport of troops and supplies in Civil-War days), and in January, 1876, he became treasurer of the Great Falls Manufacturing Company for two years. Much more intimate was his association with the Merrimac Manufacturing Company, of which he was treasurer for twelve years, from 1877 to 1889; next to the Manchester Print Works, his business career was more closely identified with this corporation than with any other. His ability, integrity, and success in these different enterprises were speedily recognized, and are attested by his election as director of the Suffolk National Bank, January 12, 1876, and January 13, 1886; as trustee and vice-president of the Provident Institution

for Savings in the Town of Boston, December 15, 1875, and December 18, 1889; as director and vice-president of the New England Trust Company, May 12, 1875, and March 31, 1879, and as director of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, January, 1879. All but the first of these offices he held at the time of his death. His reputation, moreover, was far from being merely local. His appointment by President Harrison in June, 1889, as a special commissioner to proceed to Europe to obtain the views of the principal governments of that continent in regard to the re-establishment of a common standard for the free coinage of silver, and his choice as judge of manufacturing at the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893 (personal affairs obliged him to decline both these positions), indicate that he was widely known outside Massachusetts and New England.

Interesting and valuable as is the story of his business career and preferments, one is tempted to hurry over it in order to concentrate on what was even more thoroughly and particularly characteristic of Mr. Dalton, — the wide and varied range of his public services. The Union Club and Brookline Country Club bear eloquent testimony to his activity in furthering the cause of social intercourse and good fellowship in this community; he was one of the founders of each of these organizations, and labored long and successfully for the prosperity of both. Together with the late Edmund Dwight, he started the Wintersnight Dinner Club. Another organization of which he was the founder and first president was the Arkwright Club of New England Manufacturers, whose beneficent advice and efforts in regard to the tariff have, on several occasions, prevented hasty and unwise legislation. Mr. Dalton's keen interest and sympathy in the problems of the poor and unemployed are attested by his chairmanship of the Citizens' Relief Committee at the time of the panic of 1893, and by his vice-presidency of the Legal Aid Society. But of all his many public activities, the three in which his name stands out most conspicuously are his services to the Massachusetts General Hospital, to the Park and Subway Commissions. A brief paragraph may well be devoted to each.

Born and brought up in close touch with the medical profession, Mr. Dalton was always deeply interested in the question of caring for the sick, injured, and infirm. His brothers

John and Edward were trained physicians, and though his own calling in life was another, Mr. Dalton's knowledge of and interest in the medical profession were far greater than those of the ordinary man of affairs. Much of his correspondence from Washington in Civil-War days deals with the care and transportation home of the sick and wounded, to the improvement of which he contributed valuable suggestions; and on his return to the North in 1862 he became one of the most zealous workers in behalf of the Sanitary Commission. His connection with the Massachusetts General Hospital began in 1866 with his election as a trustee; it was rendered closer on February 1, 1888, by his election as president of its corporation, an office which he held to the day of his death. During the forty-two years of his connection with this institution he gave it his unwearied, loyal, and efficient service. He was a prominent member of the committee for negotiating the sale of the old site at Somerville, and chairman of that for the building of the new McLean Hospital at Waverley in the early nineties, offices which he performed with such success as to cause the following minute to be adopted by the Hospital trustees:

The trustees desire to bear witness to the services of the President of the Corporation during the last three years. Accepting the chairmanship of the McLean Building Committee, and devoting time and skill to its constant demands, he transformed his office from a merely presiding to a laborious and highly efficient one. An enterprise of such magnitude, involving so much to the present and the future of the Hospital, could have been neither begun nor ended without authoritative supervision, and this has been performed by Mr. Dalton in a manner to claim our respect and our gratitude.

As president of the Hospital Corporation Mr. Dalton delivered an interesting address at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the first application of ether at the hospital in September, 1846. Together with his younger brother, Henry, he established in 1891 the "Dalton Scholarship" of \$10,000 for "Investigation in the Science of Medicine" in memory of the services to the hospital of his brothers John Call and Edward Barry; and he left an addition of \$15,000 to this sum in his will.

Mr. Dalton's services as member of the Boston Park Com-

mission began with the first appointment of that body in 1875 and lasted till his resignation in 1884. During eight of these nine years he acted as chairman of the commission. He was the author of its most important report (that of 1876), in which the general scheme of the Boston parks, as at present existing, was first laid out; and the successful accomplishment of that scheme in subsequent years was chiefly due to his energy and executive ability. The duties of his office were by no means easy, the frequent necessity of sacrificing the property of private persons and corporations demanding both tact and fearlessness in high degree, but Mr. Dalton never wavered, and carried through the work which had been laid upon him in a manner which commanded the admiration even of those who suffered on account of it. The merits of the general plan which he originated are too many to be enumerated here, but among them two are deserving of special mention. First, the scheme, from the moment of its inception, was one susceptible of elaboration and development *pari passu* with the growth of Boston: the commissioners studied carefully the park systems of the five American cities which already possessed them, and also those of the chief capitals of Europe before they came to any decision, and were thus enabled to devise a plan which should take into account all the possibilities of municipal expansion. Second, the trenchant arguments with which Mr. Dalton and his colleagues refuted in advance the objections of those who dreaded the expense which a park system would entail are beyond all praise. "We think money so expended (in laying out park systems)," they wrote, "will be well invested and quickly returned, by betterments, and by the increase in taxable value of all surrounding property . . . and the rate of taxation will thereby be reduced rather than increased." "It is not an extravagant proposition, though unsusceptible of proof, that more taxable capital has been driven out of the city and invested in neighboring towns during the past twenty years, for lack of a frontage for dwellings similar to that around the Common and Public Garden, than would pay for the lands and improvements of the parks located under this Act, and that within ten years after laying out the said Parks, a larger sum will be returned within the city, legitimately belonging to it, than the cost of these lands and improvements." And again, referring to sanitary conditions



“always paramount to such as are purely financial,” quoting from the report of 1874, he says, “Nothing is so costly as sickness and disease, nothing so cheap as health. Whatever promotes the former is the worst sort of extravagance — whatever fosters the latter the truest economy.” In view of municipal experience in this country within the last thirty years, how sane, how just, how far-sighted a statement is this!

It was not only in beautifying Boston, but also in increasing its facilities for transportation that Mr. Dalton rendered important services to the community. He was one of the three members of the first Subway Commission, appointed by Mayor Matthews January 1, 1894, and authorized to investigate the advisability of constructing a subway for electric cars at a cost not to exceed \$2,000,000. Within a few months after its appointment the commission reported that a subway was imperatively necessary in order to relieve the congested condition of traffic in Tremont Street and elsewhere, but that \$2,000,000 would be a sum entirely inadequate for the satisfactory building of it. The ultimate result of this report was the appointment, in July, 1894, of a Transit Commission, consisting of the three who already comprised the Subway Commission and two others, appointed by Governor Greenhalge. To this body Mr. Dalton gave more than twelve years of loyal and efficient service. His connection with it did not finally terminate till October 11, 1906. During this period the subway as it exists to-day was constructed, leased to the West End Street Railway Company, and connected with the Elevated. Mr. Dalton's services to the commission were valuable in every department of its work, but special emphasis should be laid on his general business experience, his ability in valuing condemned real estate, in negotiating with those from whom it was to be taken, and in estimating the probable cost of extensions and complicated operations. As in the days of his service on the Park Commission, he was exceedingly fond of visiting in person the scene of excavations and building, with a keen eye to detect shirking and imperfect work, and an ever-ready word of encouragement and praise for those who deserved it. On two occasions in particular his services were indispensable, first, during the negotiations with the Boston and Maine Railroad concerning the purchase of the site of the old station in Haymarket Square; second, in drafting the very complicated

lease of the subway to the West End Street Railway. It should be added that from the very first he was an ardent supporter of the plan of putting the electric cars underground, and in the early days of the commission labored strenuously, and in the end with complete success, to bring others who favored the plan of surface cars, and the appropriating of a slice of the Common to give them room, to his point of view.

Of Mr. Dalton's connection with this Society, there is little that remains to be said. Though in no sense a historian, his election, which occurred at the stated meeting of June 9, 1904, was well merited on account of his wide and intelligent reading and his active interest and participation in public affairs; and it may not be out of place to add that it would almost certainly have occurred earlier had he not unselfishly maintained the precedence of the claims of a much younger man. The President has already spoken of his two papers concerning his own family's history and traditions, and of his memoir of his brother John, whose death, in 1889, was perhaps the greatest sorrow of Mr. Dalton's life. His rare attendance at our monthly meetings is explained by his increasing deafness in later years, while his lively interest in the Society's work is attested by his regular reading of its publications. His sole contribution to our Proceedings was a brief monograph, printed in the form of an open letter to Senator Crane, and presented to the Society at the stated meeting of January 11, 1906, on the advisability of regulating the issue of postage stamps. In it Mr. Dalton recommended the adoption of the Houdon head of Washington on all stamps except those of the one-cent denomination, and for those the head of Franklin (the first Postmaster-General of this country). This suggestion he took pains to justify historically, by a number of data and precedents. The very gratifying result has been the recent issue (February, 1909) by former Postmaster-General George v. L. Meyer of a new series of postage stamps, on a scheme almost precisely identical with that suggested by Mr. Dalton, with the Houdon head of Washington on all denominations except the one-cent, and ten-cent special delivery stamps; the one-cent stamp has the Franklin head. An interesting letter of Mr. Meyer to Mr. Adams on this subject, and a minute adopted by the Society thereon, are printed in our Proceedings for March, 1909.

This brief enumeration of the organizations and societies of which Mr. Dalton was a member and the enterprises in which he bore a part, needs to be supplemented by a few excerpts from his correspondence in order to reveal the keenness and range of his interest in public affairs. A friend in London (a relative by marriage) writes the following description of Mr. Dalton's letters to him :

They covered the period 1902-1907, and abounded in shrewd inquiries and pithy comments on public affairs, British and American. In a sense, no doubt, their interest was personal and ephemeral, since they were composed simply for the reader to whom they were addressed, without either appeal to a wider audience or straining after literary effect. But of his writing it may truthfully be said that the style was the man — the man as he was — plain, forcible, direct, without a superfluous word or an irrelevant idea, equally free from parenthesis, repetition, and periphrasis. Many an accomplished man of letters has laboured for years, and laboured in vain, to acquire the art which seemed to have been given by Nature to Charles Dalton or unconsciously developed along with his character. Probably he never hesitated over a phrase or considered the turning of a sentence. He just put down his thoughts as they came into his mind — confident that they would present themselves on paper in due order, whether of sequence or logic. Let any reader who thinks this an easy matter make the experiment of describing some scene he has witnessed and then compare his performance with the specimens given in this memoir of Charles Dalton's quality of self expression. How he attained this sure literary power I have no means of guessing. All his life he was a reader of good books, and without purposed imitation may have formed himself on some great model. But he also made his way through a huge mass of contemporary stuff — newspapers, magazines, official publications, and books of the current season — which from the literary point of view would be mere rubbish, tolerable only for the information given, and compiled without sense of form. But against the demoralizing influence of all this bastard English, his style was immune. From the press, and the perishable trumpery which men of affairs must deal with, he took nothing but the new facts and fresh ideas for which his mind was always eager.

He was never tired of learning. His alertness and receptivity were still unaffected when I first came to know him, and he was then already an old man; his curiosity was but less remarkable than his open-mindedness. He started life, no doubt, with a fairly strong crop of anti-British prejudices. But these had been toned down by travel in England and close intercourse with individual Englishmen. If he liked

us at all he would take us to his heart as frankly as though we had been born in Massachusetts itself. But he was always ready for a fight, either across the dinner table or by correspondence. He fairly revelled in a stiff argument, and as he seldom made a statement for which he could not give chapter and verse, he was a tough antagonist. Once I caught him tripping. Just by way of "drawing" him I had repeated in a letter the statement (casually recalled from a forgotten magazine or pamphlet) that an eminent Abolitionist for whom Charles Dalton entertained a special esteem had himself been a slave-holder. By return of post came an indignant repudiation with the demand for my authority. The prospect of research in order to make good my random assertion was somewhat disconcerting. But there was no way out of it. Before I had entered on my labours with the British Museum catalogue, however, I received another letter from Boston — ruefully admitting the charge. Charles Dalton had himself gone laboriously into the question, and found the case proved against his view, though with extenuating circumstances. The incident seems worth recording as proof of the trouble which a busy man would take in a matter which he thought important and of his intellectual candour. If he had left me to myself, I should probably have been obliged to withdraw my statement.

When the question of protecting British industries and fostering Imperial trade through a revised tariff was raised by Mr. Chamberlain in 1903, Charles Dalton engaged with me in a long and somewhat detailed correspondence. While he did not believe that the people of Great Britain would ever agree to what he called "monkeying with the food supply" by curtailment of United States imports, he was quite as warm in support of defensive operations in favour of British home manufactures as though the new duties would not be largely directed against American competitors. The idea that such a policy might generate bad blood between the two countries he laughed to scorn. Moreover he was at considerable pains to show that the enhanced prices in America were more than compensated by the higher rate of wages and salaries. He spent quite a number of days in collecting and arranging statistics aimed at showing that the workingmen and poorer class of clerks in England would not necessarily suffer under a protective tariff.

On the fishery disputes between Great Britain and the United States — or, perhaps one should say, between the London and Washington governments — it was natural that a strongly American line should be taken by a man associated with the Republican party in Massachusetts and a cordial, if occasionally discriminating, supporter of recent administrations. But his chief anxiety was that all such outstanding questions should be brought to a satisfactory settlement. When a change was made, a little time after, in the British Embassy at Washington,

he wrote at once to make all possible inquiries about the new representative of Great Britain. As a man of the world, who was acquainted with some of the most influential persons in American politics, he knew how important a part may be played in public affairs by the personal qualities of the diplomatists employed by a Foreign Power. On national enterprises in which he took pride, such as the completion of the Trans-Isthmian Canal, Charles Dalton spared no trouble in collecting and forwarding information that might usefully be circulated in England. He delighted also in giving me fresh and unconventional sketches of eminent countrymen. Over and over again, when writing, from the British point of view, upon some international controversy, I have found my phrases mitigated, perhaps my judgment modified, by recalling a sentence in one of Charles Dalton's lucid, reasoned, and pointed letters. That his opinions were untinged by patriotic prepossession he would never have pretended, but his sincerity was so obvious, his outlook so broad, that one felt confident, on reading what he had written, that one was being brought into communion with the highest individual expression of the dominant American feeling.

A few passages from his letters to another London friend attest the truth of this description. "Do not destroy your Lords!" he wrote in 1885. "It is said Americans admire them, and so they do, your cathedrals and castles and great estates. If you want Democracy, come here or go to any of your colonies, but keep Old England for what she has been and is, Lords and all." And again in another letter:

You cannot approve of the Republican protective policy, nor do I wonder at it from an English point of view, for I suppose such a policy would be fatal to England. But our conditions permit, or rather, demand, our own methods, whereby, as I suggested to you, America may become, as she rapidly is doing, a self supporting nation . . . Why should we follow in England's wake [in regard to foreign expansion] . . . Our civilizing functions are exercised upon subjects coming to us instead of our going to them. Do you appreciate this task? A daily stream, 1500 to 2000 strong, every day in the year, mostly ignorant, with wrong ideas, many with vicious habits to be trained to become respectable, voting citizens. It is a contract which no other nation would, or perhaps could, undertake.

The crowning reward of this long and active life of upright character and disinterested public service was a truly beautiful old age and a blessedly peaceful death. The gentlest, sunniest side of his character was all to the fore in his declining years,

And that which should accompany old age  
As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends

he enjoyed in fullest measure. His earlier activities were of course diminished, but by no means entirely cut off, and further restriction, which might have been irksome, and which his physician contemplated advising in his last days, were spared him by the quiet sleep into which he fell, all unconscious of his approaching end, on the morning of 23 February, 1908, and from which he knew no waking.

The salient feature of Mr. Dalton's character, as the foregoing sketch has been primarily intended to show, was helpfulness — helpfulness in the largest sense of the word, helpfulness toward individuals and towards the community at large. Some of his more distinguished public services have been already touched upon; those which he rendered to single persons, though impossible to enumerate, formed an equally important part of his life. Though a generous giver of money, he preferred the more ambitious and active methods of aiding by unstinted devotion of time, energy, and patience. A contemporary and friend of thirty years says of him:

He was a very rare man in his simplicity, his high standards, his never failing public spirit, his generosity and his kindness. This community owes him more than many realize, not only for what he did in so many ways to help his fellow-citizens, but for his example, — for his life, which was a constant example. In a generation when men are advertising themselves, seeking offices, honors and money, he was conspicuous for seeking none of these, and asking only for opportunities to serve. We have too few such men, and the loss of such a man is a public calamity.

Next to this quality of helpfulness should be placed the remarkable energy, masterfulness, and virility of his character. Shirking and laziness were abhorrent to him. He saw the end to be gained with unvarying clearness, and was direct and forcible in his methods of attaining it, and perhaps sometimes a little hasty in his judgments of those who disagreed with him. He had his full share of *gaudium certaminis*, and never flinched from any task which demanded a struggle or a contest. But he never suffered a temporary difference of opinion

permanently to cloud his relations with his fellow-men: he never let the sun go down upon his wrath, nor permitted any vexatious incident to disturb the current of his naturally cheerful and genial disposition. His was a conspicuous case of the ripening and mellowing of old age. Without abating one jot of the vigor and forcibleness which had characterized him from the first, he grew wonderfully in the complementary virtues of gentleness, patience, and serenity.

He was a most genial and charming host, and, once more like his grandfather, "was fond of generous living and accustomed to make ample provision for his bodily comfort, but was never excessive in any personal indulgence." His bearing was always distinguished by a certain gallant quality, peculiarly his own, which marked him off as one of eminence and distinction among his fellow-men. To those in his employment he was unvaryingly kind, "his help to them being usually given in the form of a surprise," as one of them writes. He delighted in the society of younger men and women, and they in turn esteemed it the greatest privilege to sit by his fireside or at his table, and to hear and participate in the interesting conversation that was always to be found there. With every age and walk of life he felt a warm bond of sympathy; he never wavered nor faltered to the very end; and he died, as he had lived, loyal and devoted to those he loved, a brave and faithful servant of his country and of mankind.